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HISTORY OF MEWAR.

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CALCUTTA

PRINTED BY C. B. LEWIS, BAPTIST MISSION
PRESS.

1859.

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CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY OF MEYWAR AND PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY.

MEYWAR, the principal Rajpoot state in India, is bounded on the North by the British District of Ajmere; on the East by the States of Boondée, Tonk and the Districts of Jawud and Neemuch; on the South by Pertabgurh, Banswara, Doongurpore and Edur; and on the West by Sirohee and Marwar. It is in length 120 miles from North to South, and has an average breadth from East to West of 90 miles, being twice as broad towards the South as it is at the North.

The total area of Meywar is about 10,800 square miles, of which 6,300 is plain country, on the table land of central India; and the remaining 3,500 hilly and mountainous. The population may be reckoned at 7,35,000 souls: 6,30,000 inhabiting the plain country and 105,000 the hills. This number is smaller than what is usually estimated, but the extent of the hilly portion and the scantiness of its population are not generally considered or even known. The table land is elevated, and covers the Northern portion of the country as far South as $24^{\circ} 30'$ N. Latitude, where there is a sudden fall; the edge of the table land extending a distance of 60 miles nearly due East and West, from the plains of Malwa, to the Arabullee Mountains. At its greatest elevation, the table land is about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, and has a very gradual slope towards the North East, as indicated by the course of the rivers Bunas and Beeruch, which flow through it in their course to the Bay of Bengal. To the South the drainage is towards the Gulf of Cambay, the descent to the Myhie river being very rapid, and the country broken into numerous low ranges of hills, with very narrow valleys between them, their general direction being North and South parallel to the Arabullee.

The Arabullec Mountains are within the limits of Meywar, and border the whole province on the West ; towards the North, their various spurs enclose Mhairwarrah, the abode of the plundering, but now happily reclaimed Mhairs ; whilst South of that tract, their lofty intricate branches expand over the South Western portion of the territory, which is peopled by wild aboriginal Bheels, and the almost equally wild Grassees. These are descendants of tribes of Rajpoots who held the country before the Sesodyas conquered Chittore, but who, being more free from caste-prejudices, are despised by the purer though more modern race. A smaller hilly tract is found in the extreme North East of Meywar, inhabited by a daring race of robbers and dacoits called Meenahs, the progeny of the Rajpoots who were driven from Marwar on the conquest of that country by the Rhatores.

The table land of Meywar is free from jungle, and has the advantage of a copious supply of good water, generally near the surface. The soil is very fertile, though light. It requires much irrigation, but numerous artificial tanks or reservoirs help to retain the desirable element and to keep the level of the wells high. Many of the embankments of these reservoirs have fallen to decay, but the bunds or dykes of others are very magnificent and imposing works. The agriculture is rude and simple. The crops raised are different in different localities from the variety in the surface and soil. In the plain country cotton, oil seed, jawaree, and bajree are the staple rain crops ; and barley, wheat, sugar cane, opium and tobacco are grown in the cold weather. To the South East, where the black mould of the disintegrated trap boulders appears, opium and the "awl" are extensively cultivated. Considerable quantities of cotton are exported to Guzerat, and the culture of tobacco has lately increased. Opium cultivation is not extending, in consequence of the larger quantity of land devoted to it in other places, and the fluctuations of the market, which have made it, at times, of very uncertain profit.

The horned cattle in Meywar are not by any means so fine as those in the neighbouring provinces of Guzerat or Marwar ; they are, however, very numerous, and there is a large yearly export to Guzerat of such as are reared by the Bheels. The horses are good and remarkably clean-limbed ; and from the rocky nature of parts of the country where he is bred, the Meywar horse is very skilful over broken ground. The few that are reared, however, generally belong to the Chiefs. Sheep and goats are very numerous.

The agriculture and crops of the hilly portions of the country differ much from that of the plains. The Mhairs of the Mhairwarrah hills, and the Meenahs of Jhajpore live in villages like the more civilized races of India; but the Bheels and Grassees of the south and south western hills, reside in "pals" or congregations of detached houses, each built on separate hillocks at some distance from each other. The cultivation belonging to a family surrounds the homestead, and each "pal" thus covers a large extent of ground. This mode of living, by preventing surprise, gives the wild race greater security from the troops of the native states, who treat them rather as enemies than subjects. The jungle on the larger hills near the "pals" is allowed to grow, and in case of attack, the Bheels flee into the cover with their families and cattle. Each homestead is complete in itself, consisting of several houses for grain and cattle within a single enclosure. Many of the Bheel houses are well built, capacious, and tiled; and far superior to the habitations of the same class elsewhere. The Bheels lived originally in independent communities, each acknowledging its own leader. Those that were conquered by the Meywar sovereigns or chiefs transferred their allegiance to them, whilst the greater portion, who coalesced with the Grassees, before the entry of the Oodeypore family into the country, still remain faithful to these Allodial or Bhomea Chiefs.

It is uncertain at what period the Grassees first settled in the hills. They appear to have been colonies of Chohan Rajpoots, who, at different times, before the destruction of Chainpaneer near Baroda, issued from that place, and established themselves in Meywar. Driven out repeatedly by the Bheels, they at last sacrificed their caste to gain their object; and by taking in marriage Bheel women, gradually mixed with that race and were permitted to rule over them. None of the Grassees chiefs have ever been subjugated by Meywar. They voluntarily proffered a nominal allegiance to the Ranas, and hence they hold the "bhoom" or right of property in the land, over which the Rana has no power. They are not liable to be called on for regular service, to which they are not subject, or to attend at the capital, but they pay a small quit-rent in token of submission. The Bheels and Grassees obey the orders of these rude chiefs, to whom they are devoted. Every endeavour to dispossess them has only resulted in failure; though it has been constantly attempted by the Ranas, who early conquered the valleys, but were effectually kept out of the hills, in which, however, they always

found protection and shelter in times of difficulty. The intricate defiles and unhealthy climate of this extensive region, joined with scanty supplies and the harassing and constant attacks of the wild population, in former days, caused the destruction of several imperial armies, and often preserved the independence of Meywar.

From the absence of level plains in the hill country the gorges and slopes have been embanked up from time immemorial with great labour into successive level steps; which during the rainy season are so many swamps, draining one into the other. Rice is the staple crop in these, in the khurreef, succeeded by gram in the rubbee harvest. Indian corn is extensively grown also, but flourishes only on the steep slopes of the smaller hills, as it requires to be well drained and manured; some grains are sown on the tops of the higher ranges, where the jungle is cut down and burnt, and the seed dibbled in. Such fields last for 3 years only, after which the soil is exhausted, the jungle is again allowed to assume the ascendancy for 10 or 12 years, and a fresh spot is chosen for a repetition of a like species of husbandry. This is very destructive to the forests in the south west, which are the great sources for the supply of timber and rafters to the Myhiekantha and the city of Ahmedabad. Year by year they are becoming thinner and thinner, and it is now difficult to obtain timber of any size, whilst the greater breadth of land brought under cultivation since the Bheels have been induced to abandon their predatory courses, only increases the destruction of the forests. The more valuable woods, such as teak, blackwood, ebony, &c. which are now disappearing, would grow freely and to a large size, could they be preserved in any way from being sacrificed for these temporary fields, as well as from the extensive conflagrations to which the forests are subjected, for the purpose of improving the grass crop, and hunting the Sambhur deer.

Everywhere in the hills, the valleys are very narrow, and wheat can only be grown in a few places; along the banks of streams or in the alluvium of lakes. The most extensive valley is in the neighbourhood of Suloombur, where one of those fine artificial lakes has been formed, for which Meywar is so famous. A magnificent marble bund 2000 feet in length, and 120 feet high, has been thrown across a gorge in the mountains, to arrest the course of the Goomteo river, causing it to expand into a noble lake, about 30 miles in circumference, the superfluous waters of which find an exit at the extremity of the range;

a rear wall was built of the same length and height as the marble bund, but 300 feet in its rear, it being the intention to fill up the intervening space with earth. This was never done and the two walls stand independently, the marble bund being so beautifully built, as alone to suffice to resist the pressure of the immense body of water in its front without percolation or leakage, the ground below the bund being perfectly dry. Many other rivers and smaller streams in the hills, besides the Goomtee, might be similarly bunded up, and used extensively in irrigation, so as completely to alter the face of the country, but, under the present native government, we cannot expect so desirable a reformation.

Meywar is rich in minerals. Iron ore covers the Eastern portion of the province, and is smelted in small quantities; but the rude manner in which this is done, the smallness of the furnaces, and the absence of coal, makes the process of manufacture very expensive. The zinc mines of Jawud, 24 miles to the south of Oodeypore, though not now worked, were formerly very productive, and by supplying a revenue to the fugitive Ranas, enabled them to maintain their independence against their Mahomedan invaders for years after the more fruitful plain country had fallen. Even so late as A. D. 1766, these mines yielded a net annual revenue of upwards of 2 lakhs of Rupees. The ore is said to have contained sufficient silver to have paid the expenses of working, but the truth of this statement has not been tested: oxide of antimony and lead are found in the same place as the zinc. Copper exists at Chittore, and agates and other minerals are procured near Bheelwarra.

Chittore, the first capital of the country, is on a flat table mountain, conspicuous for its light colored scarped rock, springing from a dark wooded base. The length of the hill is three and a quarter miles, and its breadth three-fourths of a mile. Its height varies from 400 to 500 feet; of which the last 80 is a natural scarp. The approach is by a zig-zag road from the modern town, built at the foot of the western face of the hill, and which leads through seven gateways to the summit. The top is now covered with the ruins of temples and reservoirs, some of which are still well supplied with water. The most beautiful and unique objects in Chittore are the pillars of victory, made of rose colored limestone elaborately sculptured and rising to a height of several stories.

The present capital, Oodeypore, was built in A. D. 1569, by Rana Oodeysingh. It is situated in a valley, formed by a spur of the great

mountain range of the Arabullee, encircling an irregular area of the table land, of about 30 square miles in extent, through which the Beeruch river flows. The valley so formed is called the "Girwah." The single entrance to this area from the plains of central India, is through a fortified gorge in the range. Still further to the East, yet within the valley, is the fine lake of Oodeysagur, the bund of which, built by the founder of Oodeypore, is thrown across a natural fault in the range, through which the Beeruch leaves the valley.

The city of Oodeypore is situated on the Eastern and Western slopes of a long low ridge, the summit of which is crowned with the Rana's palace, and many of the residences of the nobles. It contains at present about 10,000 houses and, excepting the palace, is dirty, mean and much in ruins. It has no trade of its own, and is only maintained by the expenditure of the Court. It is surrounded by a wall, having circular bastions at intervals, excepting to the west where it rests on the lake. There are also several strong detached forts at about 300 yards from the enceinte. The wall is further protected by a wet ditch, filled from the lake, but on the southern side, the ground rises too much to enable the water to flow into it. The western face of the ridge, on which the city is built, is steeper than the eastern, and descends abruptly to the beautiful "Pechole" Lake. When full, this lake, submerging the bunds of two others, throws out deep bays into the suburbs; a picturesque bridge unites one of these to the city, and the sparkling water on either side is edged with numerous ghats, gay balconies and temples, shaded with dark foliage. The bold expanse of the lake stretches away beyond from under the lofty palace, and the low yet extensive islands, fringed with marble piazzas, enclosing luxuriant orange gardens interspersed with sombre cypresses, towering palms, and gilded minarets shooting up here and there: the whole resting on a back ground of the dark and lofty Arabullee, forms a scene unsurpassed by any other in India. The palace itself is an extensive and imposing pile, but on nearer approach, is found to consist of insignificant enclosures, joined by narrow dark passages. It has a court in front, and a handsome triple-gated entrance.

Besides Chittore and Oodeypore, the strong hill fortresses of Koolnulmeer, Mandulgurh, and Jhajpore, belong to the State; whilst the whole country is studded with the strong places of the chiefs, many of them admirably situated for the purposes of defence. In former

times, when Meywar was all-powerful, the crown alone had the power of erecting fortresses, but the incessant wars in which the Ranas were engaged with the Emperors, and the periodical devastations inflicted by the armies of the Mahrattas and other plunderers, led to their construction by the chiefs, for the protection of their estates. It is these palaces and lakes scattered throughout the country which make Meywar one of the most beautiful countries in India.

CHAPTER II.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF MEYWAR TO DATE OF TREATY WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The family of the sovereigns of Meywar, is the highest in rank and dignity of all the 36 royal races of Rajpoots in India. Calling itself the solar race, or Soorujbunsa, it claims descent from the celestial Rama, who reigned at Ajodhya, the ancient Oudh, at the time Yoodisthir of the Lunar race reigned at Indraprestha (Delhi). His descendant Kanaksen, in Sunvut 201 or A. D. 145, emigrated from his capital Kosila (Awadh) to the Peninsula of Guzerat, where his descendants reigned at Bulabhipoora, till its destruction, in A. D. 524, by an invasion of foreigners, who were probably Persians.

One of the Queens, a daughter of the Pramara Prince of Chundra-wuti, (a city at the foot of Mount Aboo) who had gone to Aboo to offer a votive offering on her expectation of offspring, alone escaped the sack of Balabhi. Taking refuge in a cave, she was there delivered of a son, after the birth of whom she immolated herself on a funeral pyre. The daughter of a priest brought up the young boy, who was termed Gehlote (cave-born) which name was adopted by his descendants. He appears to have ruled at Eedur, till the Bheels of that country, tired of a foreign rule, killed the eighth prince, whose infant son Bappa was preserved.

Bappa removed to Nagindra, 10 miles north of the present Oodeypore. Obligated to fly thence, on account of his wild courses, and accompanied by only two Bheels, he ingratiated himself with the Mori chief of Chittore, whose armies he led against the Mahomedans advancing

from Sindh, on their first invasion of India. After defeating and expelling them from Cāmbay, he instigated the nobles to join him in seizing Chittore, in A. D. 728, where he founded an empire, which his descendants hold at the present time. Bappa's numerous progeny established themselves in the surrounding countries. He himself in his old age carried his arms towards Khorasan, and there he took new wives from the Mussulmans, by whom he had a large offspring, called Naoshera Pathans.

After a lapse of four centuries, we come to Samarsi, born in (St. 1206) A. D. 1150, the father-in-law of Prithivi Raj Chohan, the last Hindoo king of Delhi, whose wars with the Rahtore kings of Canouj led to the establishment of the Mogul dynasty in Hindoosthan. Samarsi espoused the cause of the Chohan Emperor, whilst the Rajahs of Mundare or Marwar and of Patun, took the part of the Rahtore, who invited Sahibooddeen to his assistance. The hostile forces met at the Caggar, and, after a desperate conflict, Samarsi fell, with the bravest and most renowned of his nobles. Prithivi Raj was captured, and Delhi taken by storm. This was soon followed by the fall of Canouj, and the Empire of India was wrested from the Hindoos. The descendants of Prithivi Raj found an honorable asylum at Oodeypore, where, as Rawuts of Baidla and Kotario, their descendants are chiefs of the first class in Meywar.

Kurna, an infant, succeeded Samarsi. His mother headed her Rajpoots, and gave battle in person to Kootubooddeen, whom she defeated near Amber. Kurna's son, Mahup, was driven from his throne by his brother-in-law, the Chief of Jhallaree. Unwilling to undertake the risk of attempting the recovery of the throne, Mahup resigned his claim, and retiring to the hills, founded the state of Doongurpore. As the elder branch of the family, he retained the name Aharaya, which the family had taken in the place of Gehlote, on their migration to Nagindra. The name Aharaya was derived from Ahar, a village near Oodeypore, where stand the Cenotaphs of the Royal Family of Oodeypore, and the scene of the Suttees, those sad exhibitions of pride and superstition, which have for so long a period been enacted by the females of this family.

The throne of Chittore was recovered in A. D. 1201 by Kurna's uncle, Bharut, who placed on it his own son Rahup. This sovereign defeated and brought captive to his capital, the Purihar Prince of Mundare, whose title of Ranah he appropriated to himself, obtaining

also the rich province of Godwar, as the fruit of the conquest. The tribe, which remained with Rahup in Meywar, was called Seesodya, from the name of the place to which the captive prince of Mundare was conveyed, and which is the distinctive name still held by the reigning family of Oodeypore.

In the short space of half a century succeeding Rahup, no less than six out of nine Ranahs were killed in battle, fighting for the recovery of Gyah from the Mahomedans.

During the reign of Lakumsi, who succeeded Rahup, Chittore was stormed and sacked in A. D. 1290 by Allahooddeen. On the occasion of this siege, the awful sacrifice of the "Johur" was performed by the Rajpoot females, to escape pollution or captivity. Allahooddeen sought possession of the beautiful "Pudmani," the daughter of a Chohan King of Ceylon, the fame of whose beauty, it is said, had induced the Ranah to leave his kingdom and journey to Ceylon to claim her hand. To obtain her, Allahooddeen laid siege to the capital. On the fall of Chittore, the Rajpootnees, to the number of several thousands, entered in procession the subterranean chambers in the Fort, and were there immured, the long line being closed by Pudmani herself. The Ranah with his chiefs, at the same time, put on the saffron robes (the symbol of devotion of life) and issuing from the fort, says Col. Tod, found death in the ranks of the enemy. According to

Elphinstone, Vol. II. 42.

Elphinstone, however, the Ranah was taken prisoner and escaped the next year.

Ajeysi, the only son of Lakumsi who had not fallen in defence of Chittore, succeeded his father. At his death, he appointed his nephew Hamir his successor, in consequence of his sons not being fit for such turbulent times. The eldest son, Sejungsi, for fear of commotions, was banished the country. He found refuge in the Deccan, and was the ancestor of Seevajee, the founder of the Sattarah throne.

Hamir ascended the throne A. D. 1301. He married the daughter (a widow) of the Jhallaree Chief, Maldeo, who held Chittore for the Mussulmans, and by her means he retook it. To revenge the loss, the Emperor Mahmood, who had succeeded Allahooddeen, marched against him, but was totally defeated and made prisoner. Mahmood's ransom was fixed at 100 elephants and 50 lakhs of Rupees, besides the districts of Ajmere, Runthumbare, Nagere, and Soopoor. Meywar was now the sole Hindoo power left in India, and the princes of Marwar and

Jeypoor, Boondee, Gwalior, Chundeyree, Calpee, Aboo, &c. paid her
 Tod, 272. homage. Her power was as solid as at any
 period of her annals, whilst her subjects enjoyed a long repose and high prosperity.

Kaitsi, who succeeded Hamir, in A. D. 1365, conquered the hill districts of Meywar, which had never previously acknowledged the supremacy of the Ranahs. He was followed by Lakha Ranah, A. D. 1373, in whose time the rich zinc mines of Jawur were discovered. Their proceeds were expended in rebuilding the temples and palaces, levelled by Allahooddeen, and in making bunds to reservoirs and lakes.

At this period, a circumstance occurred which, setting aside the rights of primogeniture, transferred the crown from the eldest branch Choonda, to the younger Mokul. A proposal of marriage arrived from Marwar for Choonda. In his absence, it was made a jest of by the Ranah, and consequently refused by the son. Afraid of offending the Rhatore Prince, the Ranah accepted the offer for himself, the Rhatore making the condition that the progeny, if any, of the marriage, should succeed to the throne. Mokul was the offspring of the alliance—Choonda resigned his birth-right, reserving for himself the first place in the councils of the state, and that in all grants his symbol (the lance) should be superadded to that of the Prince. He conducted public affairs during the minority of Mokul, to the great benefit of the state, but at once retired to the court of Mandoo, on the Queen mother becoming jealous of his influence. Being sent for by her, to protect the young Prince from the Rahtores, who were usurping all the power in the State, he drove them out of the country, and pursued them to Marwar, taking their capital Mundare, which he made over to his sons. These sons were attacked by Joda (the founder of Jodhpoor) and one of them slain, but fearful of encountering the revenge of so powerful a family as that of Meywar, the feud was quenched by the formal cession of the whole of Godwar; making the spot where the young chief was killed, the northern frontier of the province.

Mokul was assassinated and Koombho succeeded him, A. D. 1419. Koombho's reign was glorious, amid no ordinary difficulties. He defeated the Mahomedan kings of Malwa and Guzerat, carrying captive to Chittore, Mahmood the Gilzie sovereign of Malwa. To commemorate this event, Koombho erected the triumphal pillar of victory at Chittore. It is still in existence and

good preservation, and remarkable for its graceful proportions and bold projections. Its height is 122 feet, divided into nine stories, and surmounted by a cupola, the whole richly carved with various representations of Hindoo mythology. Koombho raised Meywar to the highest degree of prosperity, and adorned her with works of art. He fell, after a long and glorious reign of 50 years, by the hands of an assassin, and that assassin, his son.

Ooda, this son, is passed over in silence by the chroniclers. He bestowed Ajmere and Sambhur on the sovereign of Marwar; and made the Deora family independent in Sirohee. He humbled himself before the Emperor of Delhie, offering a daughter in marriage, but was struck by lightning, A. D. 1474, ere he had time to complete the disgrace. His children, for a long time, disputed the throne with Raemull, who succeeded him. One was eventually killed, and the other, after spitefully giving his Meywar estates to brahmans, retired to Deola, in the hills, where he founded the throne of Pertabghur.

Raemull was succeeded, A. D. 1509, by his eldest son Sanga, or Sangram Singh, under whom Meywar reached the highest pinnacle of her prosperity. Eighty thousand horse, seven Rajahs of the highest rank, nine Raos, and 104 chieftains, bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with 500 war elephants, followed him into the field. He allayed the intestine feuds of his family, and before he was called upon to contend with the house of Timour, he had gained eighteen pitched battles against the sovereigns of Delhi and Malwa, in two of which he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person. Such was the state of Meywar, when fresh hordes of Uzbees and Tartars, under Baber, were poured into Hindoostan. Sanga and Baber met near Biana, in A. D. 1527. Baber was compelled to throw up entrenchments, behind which he defended himself for a fortnight. At length he brought superstition to aid him in his difficulty. He renounced wine, and directed the drinking goblets of gold and silver to be broken up, and divided amongst the poor. Numbers of his chiefs and subjects followed his example. The religious enthusiasm thereby occasioned, added to his own intrepid bearing and the treachery of the Tuar Prince of Rajsein, gave him a complete triumph. Sanga retreated with the wreck of his army, and died in the subsequent year. "He exhibited at his death," says Col. Tod, "the mere fragments of a warrior. He had lost an eye, an arm, and was a cripple, owing to a limb broken by a cannon ball ;

“ while he counted ninety wounds from the sword or lance, in various parts of his body.”

After the short reign of Sanga's son, Rutna, who was killed in a feud by the Boondée Rao, Bikramjeet succeeded. Entirely regardless of that respect which his proud nobles rigidly exacted, a feud ensued between them, which was taken advantage of by Bahadoor Shah, the Sultan of Guzerat, to revenge the captivity of his predecessor, Mozuffir. Chittore was again besieged, A. D. 1535, and, though the Rahtore Queen-Mother in person headed a sally, in which she was slain, it was of no avail. A second time the “Johur” was performed, and the funeral pyre was lighted in the tanks, or large reservoirs excavated from the rock, in which ghee and wood were usually stored. Thirteen thousand females were consumed, and the Rajpoots, headed by the Chief of Pertabghur, whose son had been adopted to the throne, and placed in safety at Boondée, rushed out to their fate. In the siege and storm, no less than 32,000 Rajpoots are said to have fallen.

The Emperor Humayoon having marched from Agra to revenge the injuries he had received from Bahadoor Shah, and to succour the Rana, (Elphinstone does not mention this as a reason for

Elphinstone, II. 126.

his proceedings,) arrived too late to save Chittore, though he restored it to Bikram-

jeet. This Ranah continued his former insolence to the chiefs, one of whom he struck in open court; on which, headed by the Rawut of Suloombhur, they all left the presence, deposed him, and seated Bunbeer, the natural son of Prithi Raj on the throne. Bunbeer attempted the life of the infant Oodey Sing, the youngest son of Ranah Sanga; but the child was saved by the fidelity of the nurse and taken to Koomulmeer, where the chiefs joined his standard. They then deposed Bunbeer, who found refuge in the Dekhan, and from whom the Bhonslahs of Nagpoor derived their origin.

Oodey Sing ascended the throne in A. D. 1541-42, about the same time that Akbar, the conqueror of Rajpoot independence, commenced his glorious reign in Delhi. The attention of the latter was early turned to the subjugation of the Rajpoots, and Chittore fell, A. D. 1568, notwithstanding the most heroic efforts of its defenders and the personal example given by the mother of the young chief of Kailva, who armed her young daughter-in-law with a lance, and both descending the rock, fell fighting for Chittore. Again was the fatal Johur com-

manded and nine Queens, besides the families of all the chieftains not at their estates, perished in the flames. The weak Oodey Singh, who early in the siege had abandoned his capital, fled to the Arabullee, and subsequently founded the city of Oodeypoor, where he soon afterwards died. He left the throne to a younger son, Jugmal, but the Suloombur Chief, on being appealed to, displaced him, and girded the sword on Pertab, in A. D. 1572.

This prince, without resources, and with his kindred dispirited, meditated the recovery of Chittore. Sheltered in the hills, he caused the plains of Meywar to be desolated, with the view of impeding the Imperial forces, whilst he effectually intercepted the traffic between Delhi and the coast. At the battle of Huldighat, which ensued with the Imperial forces, he was totally defeated; but his life was saved by the Chieftain of Sadri raising the regalia over his own person and sacrificing himself for his sovereign. In memory of this event, that Chief's descendants are privileged to use the regal insignia to this day, and the heads of the clan are styled "Raj." Hemmed in by the numerous armies of the Emperor, Pertab fled towards Sindh, and determined to abandon his country for a home on the Indus. He had already descended the Arabullee, when the hereditary Prince Minister, Bheem Sah, assisted him with his accumulated wealth. Pertab returned suddenly, surprized the Imperial forces at Deweir, and followed up his advantage with such celerity and energy, that in a short campaign he re-conquered the whole country. Pertab died in A. D. 1597, and his name is revered by the Rajpoots to this day, as the saviour of his race.

Umra, Pertab's son, succeeded, and repeatedly defeated the armies of the Emperor Jehangeer. Chittore was also voluntarily surrendered to him by his uncle Sagra, who had been placed in possession to excite family discord. Failing in all his schemes, the Emperor determined to prosecute in person, the war against Meywar, and established his camp at Ajmere. The diminished numbers of the Rajpoots rendered further resistance to the colossal power of the Empire hopeless; and the Rana tendered his submission, and agreed to meet the Emperor's eldest son, Shah Jehan, and to send his own son Kurrun to serve at Delhi. The heir-apparent was magnanimously treated, and the highest distinctions, presents, and honors were profusely lavished upon him. The Ranah, however, could ill-brook a foreign yoke, and with a galled spirit, surrendered his throne to his son Kurrun, A. D. 1621.

Kurrun reigned only seven years, and was succeeded by his son Juggut Singh, during whose reign, tranquillity prevailed throughout the country; as Shah Jehan, who had taken refuge at Oodeypoor during his rebellion against his father, had ascended the throne of Delhi, and proved a firm friend of the house. Juggut Singh adorned the new capital, repaired the walls and built the beautiful water-palaces on the islands in the Lake. In the reign of his successor Raj Singh, Aurungzib endeavoured to reimpose the Jezia or capitation tax on Hindoos, against which the Ranah protested in a dignified letter, replete with liberality of sentiment. To overcome the resistance of the Rajpoots, the Emperor marched against them a large force collected from every part of the Empire; but was repeatedly defeated by the Ranah. Peace was at last concluded with Ranah Jey Singh, the successor of Raj Singh.

Ranah Raj Singh to preserve the population during the visitation of a terrible famine, constructed at an expense of nearly a million sterling, the beautiful bund of the Kankrawlee Lake, called after him "Raj Summund" and his successor, Ranah Jey Singh, who ascended the throne in A. D. 1681, built the bund of the Deybur Lake, called "Jey Summund" the largest piece of artificial water in India, if not in the whole world. His elder brother, Bheem Singh, left Oodeypoor for the service of the Emperor, and was rewarded with the fief of Bunera; and the title and insignia of Raja, which is continued to the family to this day.

Ranah Umra, who succeeded Jey Singh, A. D. 1700, formed an alliance with the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Marwar, for mutual protection; since the Rajpoot princes felt nothing could preserve them from the capricious abuse of power by the Emperors. The Oodeypoor Family had for many years ceased to intermarry with the others, who had given their daughters to the Emperors, and their re-admission to the honor of matrimonial connection with Oodeypoor was specially stipulated for in this treaty, by the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Marwar. The point was yielded by the Ranah, on the condition, that the sons of princesses of the house of Oodeypoor, should succeed their fathers, in preference to elder sons by other mothers. Thus was introduced a principle, fraught with domestic strife, which entailed division, and brought on the stage an arbiter, the Mahratta, worse than the Mussulman, and one who prostrated the strength of the country to a greater degree than had been accomplished by all the hostility of the Emperors.

After the death of Sangram Singh II. who had succeeded Umar, in A. D. 1716, and who was a wise and able prince, beloved by his subjects, Rana Juggut Singh II. ascended the throne A. D. 1734. In his reign Nadir Shah invaded Hindoosthan ; but the Ranah kept entirely aloof, and did not seek to enlarge the limits of Meywar, though at this time she had a revenue of a million sterling a year; and Marwar and Jeypoor had become important States. On the departure of Nadir Shah, the Mahratta power was in the ascendant, and the surrender to them, by Mahomed Shah of the chouth, or fourth part of the revenues of the Empire, opened the door to the demand of the claim from all the territories subordinate to it. In 1736, therefore, a treaty was concluded by the Ranah with Bajee Rao, stipulating an annual payment by Meywar to the Peshwah, on account of chouth, of Rs. 1,60,000.

At this period, arose those family dissensions, which had their origin in the tripartite alliance above alluded to, which led to the estrangement of the Ranah from his nobles, broke these up into separate parties, and brought a government which had for ages sustained unharmed the rude shocks of external enemies, to the very verge of extinction. Maha Raja Jey Singh of Jeypoor had married a daughter of Maha Rana Sangram Singh of Oodeypoor, at the time that he had a grown-up son, Eesree Singh. To counteract the provisions of the treaty, he at the same time married Eesree Singh to a daughter of the Suloombur house, thus enlisting in favor of his grown-up son, the sympathies of the most powerful party in the state of Oodeypoor. On Jey Singh's death, Eesree Singh ascended the throne of Jeypoor ; but the pretensions of Madho Singh, the child by the Oodeypoor Princess, were supported by Ranah Juggut Singh. To place Madho Singh on the throne of Jeypoor, an army under the Suloombur Rawut, the hereditary leader of the forces of Meywar, the interest of whose family of course was opposed to the success of the Maha Ranah's schemes, was sent against Eesree Singh. The Meywar force was repulsed, and to vent his indignation, the Ranah invested a common courtesan with the sword of state, and placed dolls round his Durbar to represent his chiefs. This at once detracted from the high honor in which a seat at the Meywar Durbar had hitherto been held, and made a breach, which to this day has not been healed. The Ranah, to carry out his views in favor of Madho Singh, called in the aid of Mulhar Rao Holkar, and entered into an engagement to pay him £800,000, on the deposal of Eesree Singh. A

dose of poison was employed by the Mahratta, as the means of accomplishing his part of the bargain, and earning the promised reward. In part payment of the stipulated sum, the Ranah made over to Holkar the rich fief of Rampoorah, which was thus for ever lost to Meywar.

The most disastrous result of the negotiation, was the adoption of the custom of calling in the foreign power of the Mahrattas, for the adjustment of any real or supposed internal wrong, or for the gratification of private pique or revenge. The Mahrattas thus obtained a firm footing in Meywar, became the general referees in all disputes, deciding of course in favor of the highest bidder, and the virtual rulers of the country; supporting their armies by devastating its villages, and levying yearly contributions on its inhabitants.

Pertab Singh II. succeeded Juggut Singh II. and after him Ranah Raj Singh II. who was followed in A. D. 1762 by Ranah Ursee. Soon after Ursee's accession, the forces of Holkar, under pretext of recovering arrears, advanced almost to the capital, and were only checked by the payment of 60 lakhs of rupees. Maha Ranah Ursee, by his insolent and unfeeling demeanor to his nobles, his seizure of their lands, and making them over to mercenaries, still further estranged them. All, excepting five of the great chiefs, left the Court, and set up a youth by name Rutna, alleged to have been a posthumous son of the late Ranah. They invited Scindia to aid them, with the promise of a bribe of $1\frac{1}{4}$ crore of rupees. The Ranah's force, under the Rawut of Saloombur, attacked the pretender near Oojein, and, though at first victorious, was defeated with the loss of the Saloombur Chief and its principal leaders. Oodeypoor was shortly after invested, and only preserved by the talent and honesty of the minister Umurchund, whose energy and disinterested patriotism on this and subsequent occasions, saved his country. Scindia had agreed to retire on payment of 70 lakhs of rupees, but after the treaty was signed, demanded 20 more. Umurchund, indignantly tore up the treaty, and sent the fragments with defiance to Scindia, who, alarmed at his resolute spirit, re-opened negotiations and finally agreed to take $63\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, 33 of which were received in specie, and the revenues of Jawud, Jeerun, Neemuch, &c. mortgaged for the remainder. After five or six years, however, in A. D. 1775, Scindia dismissed the Ranah's Officers from the districts, and these rich possessions were lost to Meywar. Neembaharia was also about this time extorted by Holkar, and the ex-

tensive and fertile district of Godwar fell to the Marwar Prince, to whom it had been made over temporarily, to preserve it from the pretender Rutna, whose court was at Koomulmeer, in the mountains above the Province. Thus was Meywar bereft of her fairest provinces, which she has never since recovered.

Shortly afterwards, the Ranah, implacable in his disposition, and in whom the chiefs could never have confidence, was killed by the hands of the heir of Boondee, whilst engaged in a hunting expedition. As an instance of the infatuation of Rajpoot devotion, and the character of this Ranah, his treatment of the Saloombur Chief may be mentioned. The sovereign, in a moment of suspicion, directed the Rawut, whose father had remained faithful amidst general defection, and had fallen in the battle of Oojein, to eat the pan presented on taking leave. Startled at such an order, which showed that it contained poison, he remonstrated, and assured his sovereign it would cost him dear, but in vain. The Ranah was peremptory, the order was repeated, and the Rawut obeyed and died.

Ursee was succeeded by his son Humeer, a minor, during whose short reign the districts of Ruttungurh Kheree, and Singowlee were taken possession of by Scindia, and Jath and others given to Holkar. The contributions extorted by the Mahrattas had amounted altogether to about 5 millions sterling, and the districts alienated to 28 lakhs of annual revenue.

Ranah Bheem Singh succeeded Rutna in A. D. 1778. About this time the Sukhtawuts (descendants of Sukta, the brother of Ranah Pertab) were becoming powerful from their numbers, and were rising into notice, and setting themselves up as rivals of the Saloombur house, whilst Zalim Singh, Regent of Kotah, sided with them. He had been called in, some years before, by the Choondawuts, to assist in reorganizing the state. His ambition aimed at aggrandizing himself in Meywar, and saw in the Choondawut Chief of Saloombur, the real obstacle to his desires. He therefore sided with the Sukhtawuts, and procured a force from Scindia, under Umbajee, to assist him in taking Chittore; into which the Saloombur Chief had been forced to throw himself. The latter intrigued with Umbajee, was reconciled to the Ranah, and procured the dismissal of both Zalim Singh and the mercenaries of Scindia, on the payment to the latter of 20 lakhs, levied on both clans.

Umbajee found Meywar too profitable a field to abandon readily. He amassed in it immense wealth, and was succeeded by Lakhajee, who was replaced by Tantia ; and so rapidly did the actors on the stage follow each other, that Meywar became the field of the disputes of Scindia's generals amongst themselves, whose sides were espoused by the rival factions of the nobles. Zalim Singh marched against the Ranah for the liberation of Bala Rao. He was victorious, and on his retreat he levied 8 or 10 lakhs of Rupees, and bribed the killadars of Jhaj-poor and Sanganeer to betray their trusts. The Mahratta chieftains having lost their hold on Hindoostan, by the growth of the British power, let loose for 10 years their discontented armies on these unhappy countries, and especially Meywar, the towns of which became deserted, and the country a wilderness. The Ranah was reduced to absolute poverty, and dependent for the means of subsistence on the bounty of Zalim Singh, who allowed his Highness 1000 rupees a month. The revenue of the crown lands was reduced to only half a lakh of rupees per annum, and the royal retinue could muster hardly 50 horsemen. The Ranah was shut up in the small valley round his capital, and exposed to the insults of his own feudatories, one of whom (Lawah) had plundered the covering of his sole elephant !

The Chiefs were in little better condition than their Sovereign. A few of the more powerful, whose strong fortresses induced the Mahrattas to treat them with respect, had seized upon the villages adjoining their estates, or, taking advantage of the Ranah's misery, had obtained for a few hundred rupees, sunnuds of places yielding thousands under more favorable circumstances ; but the generality, whose possessions were more exposed to the rapacity of the Mahrattas, were wretchedly poor, and one of the first class, the Chohan chief of Kotario, had not even a horse on which to attend his master. Each one was intent on his own preservation, and paid no attention to his Sovereign, from whom they had alienated themselves so far, that more than half had never even seen his face.

To such a pass had the demoralization proceeded, that it was evident that Meywar would have perished in a few years, had not the British Government stepped in to preserve, and raise from the dust, a State, that had undergone so many vicissitudes, and whose Princes and Nobles had given proof, through a long series of ages, of so great hero-

ism and endurance. It was when the Maha Rana was in such reduced circumstances, that he sought the intervention of the British Government, who listened to his appeal, and agreed to afford him the desired assistance.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF MEYWAR FROM DATE OF TREATY WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

Appendix A. The treaty with Oodeypoor consisting of 9 articles, was concluded at Delhi, on the 13th January, 1818. It guaranteed the Rana protection against all foreign enemies, and internal independence in his own country, into which

Art. II. British jurisdiction was not to be introduced.

By it the British Government promised to use its best endeavours for the restoration of certain portions of the Meywar dominions which had been lost. In consideration of this, the Rana bound himself to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and to act in subordinate co-operation with it; and not to enter into any negotiation with other Chiefs or States, (amicable correspondence with friends and relations excepted). One fourth of the revenues of the country were to be paid as tribute to the British Government for 5 years, and three-eighths in perpetuity. Sir C. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi, in forwarding the

Art. IX.

Art. VII.

Art. III.

Art. IV.

Art. VI.

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy. to Government, 18th January, 1818. to it. The Meywar Agents were, however, anxious for the introduction of another clause, that the mission of an Envoy to Delhi, and the submission of the Rana to the Honorable Company, should not be drawn into a precedent for his allegiance to the Mahomedan dynasty, and that we should not make him

over at any time to any other power. So great was still the aversion of the Court of Oodeypoor to the Mahomedan rule, and so frank the confidence it reposed in the honor of the British Government.

The Resident considered that though the arrangement for tribute would produce little at first, there was ground for hope that the amount would constantly increase, since the country was most productive, the soil fertile, and the inhabitants industrious. With regard to the 7th article he remarked, para. 7, "The claims of Oodeypoor for the restitution of many provinces shall be transmitted in detail, in a future despatch: some of these claims will probably be rejected, some may be acceded to, and some may become the subject of negotiation or discussion with other powers. My object in the 7th article was to secure to ourselves the right of acting on all these claims as his Excellency the Governor-General might deem just and expedient." The memorandum above alluded to was forwarded on the 1st

Appendix B.

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy.
to Govt. 1st. Febr. 1818.

is little doubt, that the Meywar Government has always regarded the 7th Article of the Treaty, as binding us to the restitution of the districts therein scheduled, though leaving us the option of choosing our time and opportunity for their recovery. It is not improbable, that in acknowledging our supremacy, Meywar expected some substantial advantages in return. On the other hand, Sir C. Metcalfe considered, that the subject was one for the Governor-General's consideration and favor, and that it was optional with him to reject some of the claims altogether. Our constantly advancing state since the date of the Treaty, the frequent changes in rulers, and in the policy of our intercourse with Native States, together with the feeling, that the happiness of a people is to be preferred before the personal gratification of a Sovereign, have all doubtless tended to keep this article out of sight, though the native State seeks anxiously some recognition of the compact.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the Rana's

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy.
to Government, 1st
February, 1818.

Agent, who was a connection of the Rawut of Saloombur, presented an application for the support of his relation by the British Government in the office of Baujgurreea ("Hereditary Councillor.") The Resident gave no promise beyond the assurance that the Rawut's good conduct would ensure the approbation of the Governor-General.

Col. Tod was the first Agent appointed to conduct our relations with the Court of Oodeypoor, and as the Government of the country was in a state of utter disorganization, the fastnesses held by robbers, and the crown lands by the nobles, the Agent was directed to take the whole control of affairs into his own hands, and though it was foreseen, that at the beginning, interference would extend to minute details, it was hoped that as affairs settled, he might gradually withdraw his superintendence, and accustom the native functionaries to act for themselves, so as to avoid the shock, a sudden change of management would necessarily occasion. Col. Tod arrived at Oodeypoor enthusiastically filled with the idea of raising Meywar from the depressed condition into which she had sunk ; of re-constructing her Government on its old footing, and of raising her Court to the splendor it had enjoyed in the time of Sangram Singh. His failure is not wonderful ; it is more matter of surprise, that he managed to accomplish what he did, the Rana's character not being such as to hold out hopes of a successful result. " He was," to use Col. Tod's words, " ever the tool of that faction that had the ascendancy at the moment, and ever ready to be swayed by any one who could practice on his credulity, or administer to his prodigality.

One of the first acts of Captain Tod, was to convene the great

Appendix C.

Chiefs, and draw up certain articles of agreement between them and their Sovereign, by

which they bound themselves to restore all the lands they had become possessed of, either by usurpation or gift, during the previous half century ; to perform personal service at Oodeypoor, with the quota of troops with which they were by ancient sunnud bound to serve, but only for half the usual period ; to restore all customs, and other duties seized from the State, during the period of trouble ; and not to harbor thieves and robbers. The Rana engaged, on his part, to maintain their ancient and hereditary privileges ; and not to attach any of their lands without cause.

This was as much as could have been obtained from the chiefs at the time, and it was only after a very long and protracted negotiation, that their signatures were affixed to the document which has been since designated " Tod's Kaulnama" (agreement). It should be considered, that the possessions to be restored had not been all obtained by force ; many had been grants for honorable service : how-

ever, no difference could be allowed, as enquiry would have been invidious, and have retarded the settlement. Feuds amongst the nobles had also arisen, and in their prosecution estates had changed hands. When the restitution of such to their original owners would have reopened the feuds, the estates were not the less resumed, but served to increase the possessions of the Crown. The accomplishment of this unpalatable measure, without the employment, or even exhibition of force, is evidence, if such were needed, of the great personal influence of Captain Tod, and the authority our attitude, and the presence of our armies in Central India, gave at the time to all our officers employed at Foreign Courts.

It could not be expected, in a country like Meywar, of which so large a portion is occupied by wild aboriginal races, many of whom had neither heard of the British Government, nor knew its power, that predatory habits, so long indulged in, would be suddenly abandoned, and the population settle down at once to agricultural pursuits, without an example being necessary to convince them, that the plunder of their neighbours would be no longer permitted. On the North West border of the country, troops were early required for the punishment of the Mhairs. Hating and despising their Rajpoot neighbours, this wild race had subsisted for ages on foraging the plains. Inhabiting a long tract of country within parallel ranges of the Arabullee, they bordered Ajmere, Meywar and Marwar. Taking advantage of the ever-existing jealousies between these States, their peculiar position enabled them to shelter every outlaw, and, if attacked by one party, to seek the protection of the other. The chiefs in their immediate neighbourhood, though they suffered from their excesses, were not anxious to see them conquered, as the fastnesses of the mountaineers harboured them in days of difficulty.

Sovereignty over Mhairwara was claimed by all the neighbouring States, to whom, however, the Mhairs paid no revenue, and who were obliged to maintain expensive establishments to protect the villages in the plains from the incursions of these marauders. On the cantoning of our troops at Nuseerabad and Neemuch, these plunderers reverted to their former courses and commenced attacks on Ajmere and Oodeypoor villages. In trying to repress them, the Rao of Bhugwanpoora in Meywar had been killed. A British detachment marched into the

Resident of Delhi to
Secy. Government 20th
and 30th Novr. 1820.

country, in March 1819, and occupied Jak and Lulloa, but an insurrection broke out in November 1820, in which the British Thannadar of Jak was killed and the other Thannahs driven away. A force was consequently marched from Nusseerabad to suppress the insurrection. The strongholds of Athoon and Bairar, in which the Mhairs had been accustomed to defy whatever troops the Native Governments might send against them, were stormed. After a gallant resistance, the Khan of Huttoon and 200 of his followers were slain at Ramgurh, and the country brought into subjection before the expiry of three months, or by January A. D., 1821.

Sir D. Ochterlony, Resident in Malwa and Rajpootana, recommended

Sir D. Ochterlony to
Secy. to Govt. 6th Nov.
1821.

that a Corps of Mhairs should be raised, to give employment to a portion of the turbulent population. This was acceded to, and Capt. Hall of the Qr. Master General's Department

G. O. 28th June, 1822.

was selected by the Marquis of Hastings as the Officer to command the Corps, and appointed

at the same time Superintendent of British Mhairwarra. Marwar and Meywar agreed to pay for the maintenance of the Corps Rupees 15,000 a year each,—but as the restoration of the country to the control of those who had induced the very evils we had been called upon to repress, was to be deprecated, negotiations were opened with the Rulers of Marwar and Meywar for the surrender to our management of their shares of Mhairwarra, the possessions of both States being so much intermixed with our own, that any rebellious feeling arising in one portion was certain to be shared by all. The Rana was not inclined to yield any portion of the small territories still remaining to him, but on the re-introduction by his officers of certain measures which had been found prejudicial, Sir D. Ochterlony desired the withdrawal of the Ra-

Sir D. Ochterlony to
Pol. Agent, Meywar, 18th
May, 1823.

na's troops from the country, remarking: "It has now become a matter of absolute necessity, that the charge of Mhairwarra should be placed

under our immediate superintendence; and, if my request is not complied with instantly, I shall not hesitate to direct Captain Hall to expel every person belonging to the Rana, except a Mootsuddee, for the mere purpose of ascertaining the amount of collections. I wait only his reply to give the orders. If he gives a voluntary assent to the plan, I have offered to his consideration that he is a considerable gainer in a

pecuniary point of view, and he will save himself from the disgrace of having his Thannahs expelled, which I can no longer hesitate to do, without risk of seeing the whole country in the state from which it was rescued by us."

The way in which Meywar Mhairwarra was taken under our charge, was hurtful to the feelings of the Rana, and cannot be justified. It was shortly brought to the notice of Government, on the demand from the Rana of his share of the cost of the civil Government of the country.

Assist. Resident at Delhi to Pol. Agent. Meywar, 19th July, 1826. "The mode of transfer has occasioned the Governor-General," says Sir C. Metcalfe, "much concern, as being totally at variance with the instructions, the wishes, and the views of Government; and although the Governor-General in Council fully contemplated that the state of Oodeypoor, in common with that of Jodhpoor, should pay its share of the expenses of collections, as well as a sum of Rs. 15,000 towards the support of a Local Corps; yet, after the violence already done to the feelings of the Rana in this affair, Government is not disposed to maintain any discussion with that Prince on the point; and directs accordingly that His Highness's claim to be exempted from any payment in addition to the sum of Rupees 15,000, be admitted. Notwithstanding this liberality on the part of Government, the Rana, for a long period, sought the restitution of his share of the country, and Sir C. Metcalfe considered he had an undoubted right to demand its restitution at the conclusion of the term for which it had been leased to us.

Under the able and judicious management of Col. Hall, who was succeeded by Col. Dixon, the Mhairs speedily changed from wild and lawless robbers to peaceable and industrious cultivators. It is not necessary here to allude to the process by which this happy result was brought about, however interesting the enquiry might be, or to detail the benefits conferred by British Rule on Mhairwarra; the further history of this portion of Meywar, which was henceforth no longer under the management of the Rana, becomes merged in that of British Mhairwarra.

The district of Jhajpore in the North East of Meywar, had been taken possession of by Zalim Singh, in A. D. 1806, on his departure from Oodeypoor, after the release of Bala Rao. Captain Tod, soon after his arrival at Oodeypoor, negotiated for its surrender, and it was made over by Zalim Singh in February 1819. In consequence of the weakness of

the Rana's Government, Jhajpooor was managed by the Political Agent, and was subsequently assigned in 1821 for the liquidation of the arrears of tribute to the British Government. The Meenas were disarmed by Captain Tod, and a body of 500 horse and foot was raised for the protection of the district, which soon became very flourishing, and presented a marked contrast to those managed by the State.

Soon after Col. Tod's arrival at Oodeypoor, the Minister Kissendoss Pucholee died, under strong suspicion of having been poisoned. He was an able man, and acted in strict conformity with the Agent's wishes and desires, and of course incurred the enmity of many. He was succeeded in office by Debeecheund, who was again changed, in March 1821, for Sah Sewlall.

The highest expectations formed of the resources of Meywar by the Political Agent were not realized. The first year of tranquillity produced an influx of people, or rather a return of emigrants to their homes; but, as few had proceeded to any great distance, there was little hope of this influx continuing. The Pergunnahs into which the country was divided, were farmed by Col. Tod for a period of five years from A. D. 1819. Kamdars of the State, checked by a Chupprasee of the Agency, were over the farmers; but Col. Tod soon found that, with the means at his disposal, his task was a very thankless one. His measures were often hindered by the Rana himself, for whose benefit they were made; whilst at other times, after they had been agreed to by the Rana, they were thwarted by the influence of the female portion of the household, which could not be reached. "Every man too in the city," the Agent complained, "from the pettiest cloth-seller to the Rana, discusses public affairs, and every person from the Pradhan (Minister) to the Passwan who drives away the flies, assumes the privilege of giving advice."

It is probable that the very state of dependence, in which the Rana was placed, chafed his spirit, and induced many of those evils of which the Agent complained. The time of the Rana was spent in vain shows and frivolities, and, to curb his prodigality and set bounds to his extravagance, His Highness was allowed, for his household expenses, Rupees 1000 a day; but as the gross yearly revenue of the country for two years after the treaty, did not amount to this sum, the British tribute fell necessarily into arrears. The Rana's allowance was paid by a Banker, who was guaranteed the amount, together with 18 per

cent. interest, by the Political Agent. With the prodigality usual in a Native Prince, the Rana, to extend this allowance to the utmost, endeavoured to burden the State accounts with items which ought to have been defrayed out of the liberal income furnished to him. Instead of this, he sent to the districts which had been set apart for the payment of the tribute, extra establishments, as a means of providing for needy dependents and followers, and to make up the deficiency, other Pergunnahs had to be assigned.

From these various causes, though the yearly increase of revenue had been steady, the total amount of the net collections was small. It reached in A. D. 1818, Oodeypoor, Rs. 1,20,000

ditto 1819, ditto. 4,41,218

ditto 1820, ditto. 6,49,100

ditto 1821, ditto. 8,77,634

and for A. D. 1822 was estimated to yield between 11 and 12 lakhs of rupees ; which expectation, however, was not realized.

In the last year (1821) of Col. Tod's incumbency, he had commenced, agreeably to the instructions of Government, withdrawing gradually from the very minute interference heretofore exercised in the internal Government of the country ; but before he could completely do so, he was obliged from ill-health, to leave India, making over charge of his office to his Assistant, Captain Waugh. The guarantee to the Banker who paid the Rana his allowance having ceased, in consequence of the new arrangements, His Highness was reduced to the most lamentable destitution. For the first two months, the Heir Apparent supplied funds for the current household expenses from the dower of his bride ; but when this had been expended, the Rana's jewels and even silver sticks were pawned to raise funds. Latterly, such was the distress, that the Rana's horses and elephants seldom got their rations more than once in 3 or 4 days. The stoppage of the allowance was ascribed to the acting Agent, and caused much irritation. His Highness considered the Minister Sah Sewlall, who possessed considerable influence over the British representative, as the instigator in withdrawing the guarantee from the Banker, and being determined to free himself from the trammels placed on him by his nominal servant, boldly dismissed him.

The acting Agent insisted on the Minister's restoration, and his demand was supported by Sir D. Ochterlony, who regarded the re-

Sir. D. Ochterlony to
Pol. Agent, Meywar, 10th
May, 1823.

appointment of the Minister as the only way in
which the Rana could "merit the friendship"
of the Right Honorable the Governor-General ;

though at the same time, he regretted the unbounded confidence re-
posed in Sah Sewlall by the acting Agent, and

Sir D. Ochterlony to
Pol. Agent, Meywar, 23rd
June, 1823.

which he feared had been taken undue advan-
tage of by the Minister. The Rana was thus

compelled to employ an obnoxious person and made to feel his depen-
dent situation.

Captain Waugh was succeeded by Captain Spiers, on the 14th
March, 1823, and he again by Captain Cobbe on 15th April, 1823. On
the arrival of the latter Officer at Oodeypoor, he found that no less than
83 villages had been given away by the Rana during the few months
the Minister had been suspended. That functionary was confined, and

Captain Cobbe, Pol.
Agent, Meywar, to Sir
D. Ochterlony, 21st Sept.
1823.

his life threatened, whilst the managers of the
Pergunnahs, who were his creatures, had ab-
sconded with their accounts. The tribute was

altogether neglected, and the revenue of the villages, which had been
assigned for its payment, had been drawn upon to meet the deficiency
accruing in those set apart for the cost of the Rana's personal expendi-
ture. The debt to the Banker who paid this allowance amounted in
1823 to two lakhs of rupees. There was no explanation of how the debt
had accumulated, nor was there any account of what had become of the
current revenue. In the districts not assigned, the tyranny and extor-
tion of the Kamdars was excessive, and as their power ceased with that
of the Minister who appointed them, their rapacity was proportioned to
the shortness of their tenure of office. "All calculations," wrote Captain
Cobbe, "have been speculative." "The expenses have always exceed-
ed the highest scale of probability, whilst the product has fallen short
of the lowest calculation." "The Rana regards his debt as a mere
nominal obligation, and the exaction of tribute, a great hardship. The
Government is a tissue of cheating and oppression : from the prince to
the peasant, all are robbers."

The arrears of tribute due to the British Government amounted
to Oodeypoor Rs. 7,90,747, besides that for the current year 1822-23.
The only sum paid under this head, since the treaty was signed, had
been 1½ lakhs, remitted by Captain Spiers to Neemuch. Captain
Cobbe, in consequence, recommended for the security of the British

tribute, and to prevent the utter ruin of Meywar, that the Government of the country should be placed again under the superintendence of the Political Agent, and the districts farmed ; but that, to save the ryot from the oppression of the farmers, an appeal should lie to the Political Agent. For his household expenses, the Rana was to receive as before Rs. 1000 a day, paid by the Banker, under the guarantee of the Political Agent, on which interest at 18 per cent. was charged. Thus, interference in internal concerns, which had been withdrawn, was re-introduced before the lapse of a single year.

In A. D. 1824, the British Government concluded with the Rana, an agreement, to prevent the growth of opium in Meywar, or its transit through the country.

Captain Cobbe to Resident at Delhi, 28th Sept. 1824. The Rana was to receive Rs. 40,000 yearly, as compensation for the revenue formerly derived from the drug. The quantity required for consumption in Meywar was to be furnished by the Malwa Opium Agent, at cost price, on Perwannahs issued by the Political Agent of Oodeypoor ; all confiscated opium was to be sent to Indore, half the proceeds of its sale going to the captors, and half to the Rana. The effects of this monopoly caused much evil in Meywar, and the Meenah population of the Jhajpoor district engaged extensively in smuggling opium, and resisting its capture by the troops of the State. Large bodies of men assembled to protect the smuggling speculations, and no less than 800 to 1,200 men have been concerned in a single venture. At Bheelwarra, which was the mart for the exchange

Captain Cobbe to Sir C. Metcalfe, March 1826. of the cloths of Palee and Ajmere for the opium of Malwa, the loss in the Meywar customs Revenue was above 18,000 a year. The system by which the monopoly was established was demoralizing to the Government of the Native States, and, according to Col. Sutherland, raised the arm of the Sovereign against the merchants of his own country.

Col. Sutherland to Sir C. Metcalfe, 13th November, 1826. It subjected " all trade and travellers to an injurious and degrading search, ruined the staple export trade and went far to ruin the import trade of the country. The fact too of our paying 5 per cent. on the land revenues, to the Sovereign, to bar the trade of his own subjects, is a small proof of the profits of which we deprive them. That within the last eighteen months, a sum of 3 lakhs of rupees, the value of captured opium, has been divided, half to the Sovereign and half to the captors within this territory, is also a proof that, even with this risk, the trade has not ceased."

Sir C. Metcalfe to
Secy. to Govt., 9th Janu-
ary, 1827.

It is only necessary further to advert to Sir Charles Metcalfe's able *exposé* of the effects of the opium monopoly which gave the death-blow

to the system.

At the end of a couple of years, the finances of Oodeypoor under the management of the Political Agent, were in a much more flourishing condition than they had been since the date of the Treaty. On the settlement of accounts of 1823—24, the Rana's expenditure was completely covered by his revenue. The sum of rupees 4,00,000 had been paid on account of current tribute and arrears, whilst the smaller debts had been kept down. The Pergunnahs had been farmed at an increasing rate, as also the transit duties, the former contractor of which had failed. The net revenue of the country was 8 lakhs per annum, of which the British tribute amounted to 3 lakhs, for the regular payment of which and for the liquidation of arrears, certain Pergunnahs were reserved, besides the transit duties and opium compensation, yielding in all 4½ lakhs. Of the police of the country, the Agent reported favorably. It was performed by the quotas of the Chiefs, whose Jha-gheers were in the neighbourhood, or by Bhoomias. Regular dacoity was very rare, and there had been no instances of murder brought to notice, except domestic ones from jealousy.

Captain Cobbe to Resi-
dent at Delhi, March, 1826.

The customs revenue of the country had also improved. When Meywar was overrun by predatory bands of Pindarees, the Thakoors near the ghats had been able, not only to defend themselves against invaders, who could not afford time for a siege, but also to command the duties from the larger traders, who could not fight their way. All trade on a small scale had ceased. After peace had been restored, Captain Tod, in A. D. 1819, received Rupees 60,000 for the customs duties. For the next three years, he farmed them for 2 lakhs per annum, and in 1822, gave a lease at a rising rent, but the contractor failed in November 1824. On this, they were rented afresh for three years to the Gosaen of the temple at Nath Dwara for 2 lakhs per annum.

Sir C. Metcalfe to
Secy. to Govt., 15th July,
1826.

In November 1826, Captain Cobbe went on temporary leave, and Captain (the late Col.) Sutherland, 1st Assistant to the Resident at Delhi, officiated during his absence. The dependent state of the Rana,

and the influence exercised over the country by an individual Banker, had been much lamented by the Resident at Delhi, who, however, at the time, saw no present remedy. Col. Sutherland, immediately after his

arrival, recommended the withdrawal of the badged servants, which had been placed by the Political Agent at the Thannahs and at the head quarters of the Pergunnahs, as a check on the Kamdars and farmers of revenue, on whose acts they had to report, but with whom they generally connived. In this position they assumed a power in the civil administration, which completely paralyzed all independent action by the native State.

Captain Sutherland introduced several other reforms. He proposed that the tribute demanded by the British Government should be

a fixed amount, and not a percentage on a fluctuating sum; as the system of enquiry it gave rise to, was derogatory to the dignity and injurious to the interests of the inferior State; that the agency of the money-lenders in the collection of the tribute of Jhajpore should be withdrawn; and the districts reserved for payment of tribute given up with the rest of the country to the Rana. Sir C. Metcalfe approved of these recommendations, and directed them to be carried out as far

as was possible, pending the orders of Government, as "a satisfactory arrangement could no doubt be made for the payment of our tribute, which was the sole pretence of our governing a part of His Highness's country." Sir Charles adds, "I suppose some peculiar causes must have recommended and justified the arrangements at present existing. Whatever they may have been, it is to be hoped that they no longer exist, and that eight or nine years of our protection will at least have operated so far beneficially, as to enable us to permit the Rana to rule his own dominions."

At this period, Sir Charles Metcalfe visited Oodeypore. The Rana

presented him a paper of 10 Articles. The first article was regarding tribute, which the Rana desired should be commuted into a fixed

sum. Sir C. Metcalfe observed, that though we might lose largely, if Oodeypore should ever acquire the wealth which the soil is capable of producing, yet it appeared so desirable to discontinue the system of

interference and scrutiny, that he recommended the proposal ; and that the tribute for the future should be fixed at Oodeypoor Rs. 3,00,000 a year, which would relieve the Rana from vexatious thralldom, and place our relations with him on a footing better suited to his Sovereign authority in his dominions. The second article was regarding a deduction from the arrears of tribute due to us, stated to be about 4 or 5 lakhs. To this indulgence, however, the Resident did not conceive the Rana entitled. He might be required to pay off the amount due, by instalments of 50,000 a year, or he might be required to raise a loan for the purpose, under our guarantee.

The third request of His Highness was, that his authority might be established over his subjects. "This," said Sir C. Metcalfe, "is his undoubted right. A part of the country has been under the management of our Agent, together with the whole of the revenue from customs, as pledges for the payment of our tribute. Throughout the remainder of the country, chuprassies have been stationed in every village, bearing the badges of the British Agent, badges also of the insignificance and subjection of the nominal Sovereign." The Rana's fourth request related to the advances from the Banker, "who, with our guarantee, charged 18 per cent. interest ; and receiving our tribute and without paying anything for the use of it, lent our tribute to the Rana and appropriated the interest on it." Sir Charles Metcalfe stated that measures had been taken for stopping this, and that another Banker had come forward who did not require more than 6 per cent. The 5th article referred to the Bheel country being restored, and the 8th and 9th to lost portions of the ancient territories of the State, now in the possession of other Powers. The Resident observed that these requests were advanced without expectation of success, but merely in order that the existence of the ancient claim might not be forgotten. The 6th article referred to Mhairwarra, and the 10th requested that an Agent on the part of the Rana might reside with the Resident, which was yielded. Sir C. Metcalfe was much gratified with his interview. His Highness was exceedingly kind in his manner, and did not seem deficient in quickness and intelligence. "The heir-apparent is a prince in appearance, and a gentleman in manners. He bears a high character, and manages his own affairs well."

Captain Cobbe returned to Oodeypoor about the beginning of December 1827. So entirely had the short month, during which

Captain Sutherland officiated, altered our relations with Meywar, that the Political Agent felt himself obliged to carry out the policy initiated by his *locum tenens*; and before the end of the year, the Banker's accounts had been paid up, the guarantee of the British Government withdrawn; the reserved Pergunnahs had been made over to the State, and the chuprassies given to the renter of customs recalled; and thus the interference of the Political Agent in the internal affairs of the country which, with only a slight intermission, had been constant since the date of our first connection with it, was completely and finally withdrawn. The tribute for the current year was Rs. 2,80,425, which

would make the revenue Rs. 8,47,800. To this
 Captain Cobbe to Resident, Delhi, March 1827. was to be added customs collections, 2 lakhs, making a total revenue of nearly 11 lakhs.

It could hardly have been expected that the Rana and his Ministers, called from a state of dependence to govern an extensive country, should have made at once a proper use of the liberty they had gained, in consequence of the sudden change in the Government of the country; or that they should have escaped being guilty, at the outset, of a considerable degree of oppression and extravagance. Time had not been allowed to convince them of the necessity of justice and economy. The Rana was weak and rapacious, and his ministers grasping, from being constantly changed. Sah Sewlall, the obnoxious individual whom the Rana had been forced to retain by Sir D. Ochterlony in 1823, was deposed in 1824, and was succeeded by Ram Singh; who after a tenure

of only eighteen months, was removed in 1826,
 Captain Cobbe to Resident at Delhi, 25th February, 1826. and Sewlall reinstated. In June 1827, Sewlall had to take refuge in the house of the heir-apparent, and the Rana re-appointed Ram Singh, in opposition to the wishes of his son and the Choondawut Chiefs, who were anxious for the nomination of Sheer Singh.

Under such circumstances, it would have been wonderful for any country to have flourished. The Political Agent, before the lapse of many months, had to report "on the oppressions committed by the Kamdars of the minister, by the revival of obsolete or liquidated claims, and the renewal of old causes, civil and criminal, formerly investigated." His Highness's orders "for the repression of exactions are not attended

to, if seriously issued; indeed as every local
 Captain Cobbe to Rest. at Delhi, May 1827. Kamdar is the servant of the minister, and not of the Prince, no order, except emanating from

the former, is ever obeyed. Again, I cannot attempt to detail the robberies on a smaller scale, which are of almost endless occurrence ;

Captain Cobbe to Resident, Delhi, June 1827.

and which have rendered the roads in Meywar nearly impassable to single travellers. Two or three cases occur daily in the town of Oodeypoor. Any petition presented to the Rana is handed over to the Minister, but no notice is taken of the complaint."

On the 31st March, 1828, died Maha Rana Bheem Singh, who, during his long reign of 50 years had experienced the greatest vicissitudes of fortune, and had witnessed the fall of his country from wealth and power, to be a field for robbers and the theatre of intestine internal feuds. He had been engaged the greater part of his life in civil warfare with his nobles, till, deserted by all of them, he had sunk into abject poverty, dependent on the charity of Zalim Singh for his daily bread. Raised from the dust, and his kingdom restored to him by foreigners, of a different colour and religion, by whose support alone he reigned, he had not learnt humility from affliction, nor had poverty taught him wisdom. He held fast by his faults and weaknesses to his death. He was accompanied to the funeral pyre by four wives and four

Captain Cobbe to Resident at Delhi, 31st March, 1828.

concubines, and was succeeded by his son, Maha Rana Jowan Singh.

This Prince, who had given promise of better things, immediately after his accession to the throne, became involved in a round of debauchery and was almost constantly intoxicated.

Captain Cobbe to Rest. Delhi, 31st March, 1830.

" He seemed deaf to all representations, until his personal fears were excited by the retreat of a numerous and powerful tribe of Rajpoots from the city, in a state of open rebellion, into which they were driven by the imbecility and avarice of the Government, and the intrigues of some of his Highness's favorites. During his father's life, he was considered parsimonious, and so punctual, that large sums were advanced by merchants to his father, and to several chiefs, on his personal security. After his accession, he considered himself released from these obligations, and his economical habits disappeared when the means of profusion were within his reach. The expenses of his Court soon doubled those of his father, and did not fall short of Rs. 50,000 a month. From the effects of bad Government, the land revenue rapidly declined. Many valuable villages were alienated, and

a general feeling of insecurity prevailed, whilst many cultivators and bunnys emigrated. So much had the revenue deteriorated, that the Pergunnah of Hoorlah, which formerly yielded 40,000 Rupees, now only brought 24,000. Jhajpoor, which Captain Sutherland on taking charge, reported in such good order, giving a revenue of 1,18,000, and maintaining a body of 400 efficient foot and 100 horse, now required 20,000 Rupees, besides its revenue, to cover its expenses.

Rana Jowan Singh at once released Sewlall on the payment by him of 1½ lacs of rupees. Mehta Ram Singh was turned out, and succeeded by Mehta Sheer Singh, who, however, in a single year, so squandered the resources, that though he had forestalled the revenue, his successor was obliged to pay a considerable amount of debts left by him. Sheer Singh was said to be the more honest of the two, but Meywar suffered as much from his weakness, as from his predecessor's rapacity. He was turned out of office, and again succeeded by Ram Singh.

At this time, the debt of the Rana on account of arrears of tribute, amounted to 7 lacs of rupees, of which 2 were for advances made for the settlement of the Hills, and expended under our direction. The chiefs and adherents of the house expressed themselves willing to come forward liberally, if they could extricate the Rana from his difficulties. With these aids, the Minister said he could raise 5 lacs of rupees, if Government would receive this sum in ready money instead of the debt of 7. The Political Agent, in forwarding the request, considered that the deterioration of the "country dated from the withdrawal of our interference, and though he could not assert that the remissions above recommended would ensure the Rana's prosperity, they would enable him to carry on his government without our intervention." The

Sir J. Collbrooke to Secy. to Government, 23th June, 1831.

British Government appears to have acceded to the request, since the arrears of tribute were at once liquidated.

Secy. to Govt. to Resident at Delhi, 14th October, 1830.

the Rana was vested in the Superintendent and Political Agent, Ajmere.

Major Lockett to Lord Auckland, 11th February, 1832.

Captain Cobbe left Meywar in January 1831, when the Meywar Agency was abolished, and the temporary charge of our relations with the Rana was vested in the Superintendent and Political Agent, Ajmere.

In 1832, Maha Rana Jowan Singh proceeded to Ajmere, to meet the Governor General. The Rana intimated to Major Lockett, Offg.

Governor General's Agent, that none of his ancestors had ever left their country to pay a visit of ceremony to the Kings of Delhi, and that some individuals of importance had not been inactive in dissuading him from the journey to Ajmere. Many old and experienced Officers in the Governor General's Camp predicted that the Rana never would be induced to visit Ajmere, and there was not a native who expected to see him. Several subjects of negociation were brought forward by the Maha Rana during the interview. A claim for the territory alienated

previous to our treaty was given in, and
 Major Lockett to Govr. General, February, 1832. subsequently another paper containing minor requests, viz. that the amount of tribute payable to the British Govern-

ment should be diminished, and one year's
 Major Lockett to Secy. to Government, 16th April, 1832. tribute be remitted, on account of the expenses attendant on a proposed pilgrimage to Gyah; that villages settled by Captain Hall within the Rana's share of Mhairwarra might be considered as belonging to him, and that the assistance of British troops might be allowed for the coercion of certain of his refractory chiefs; the whole winding up with a characteristic demand, that if another Governor General came to Western Rajasthan, and appointed a meeting, it should be held at Oodeypoor. Suitable answers were returned to all the several points. The tribute was not lowered, nor does it appear that any portion of it was remitted, but a kind of promise was given regarding the villages in Mhairwarra, the lease of which was renewed for a further term of 8 years, the Minister consenting to pay 5,000 Rs. a year for Civil charges, in addition to the 15,000 previously agreed upon.

Lieut.-Col. Lockett to Secy. to Government, 8th March, 1833.

Mehta Ram Singh mismanaged the revenues of the State as much as his predecessor had done, and fled from
 Major Lockett to Secy. to Govt. 18th May, 1832. Meywar. There was a loss of 4 to 5 lacs of rupees in the year's revenue, and the tribute consequently again fell into arrears. Mehta Sheer Singh, who was the personal friend of the Rana, succeeded again to the office.

On the 9th June, 1832, Captain Spiers who had charge of the Hill Tracts and Doongurpoor, delivered over his office to Captain Pasley at Neemuch. Captain Pasley's acts, however, did not meet the approval of Govern-
 Govr. Genl.'s Agent to Captain Pasley, 20th November, 1832. ment. He issued Perwannahs to force traders

to take a particular line of road, instead of one to which they had been invited by an offer of the remission of half the duties. In the

Govr. General's Agent to Secy. to Government, 2d of November, 1833.

following year, he sent a party of 50 Sepoys and twelve Sowars under Captain Smith by a forced march of sixty or seventy miles, into the Hills for the seizure of a Mogeea, whose wife and mother were killed whilst he was being apprehended. On the return of the party, the Bheels pursued it, Captain Smith was wounded, and the prisoners rescued. Captain Pasley was consequently relieved, and his duties, comprising the charge of Jawud, Jeerum and Neemuch, were made over to Major Spiers.

Shortly after Major Spiers took charge, some petty Thakoors on the Pertabgurh border near Neemuch, assisted by the Bheels of the Gunga Sea Pal, again commenced their depredations. These Bheels owed a nominal allegiance to Pertabgurh, but were in reality independent. "When the Pertabgurh Chief wishes to communicate with them," says Major Spiers, "he sends a confidential servant to the banks of the river, which skirts their residence, who calls out for the head of the community with a loud voice to come to him, or to send a party to escort him to that person. When it does not suit the convenience of the Bheels, no attention is paid, and the messenger has to go away." "Major Spiers recommended negotiation with this community, and, if that failed, that it should be coerced." The Governor General's Agent recommended that the Thakoors should be stripped of their possessions; but that coercion should not be used with the Bheels, till lenient measures had failed.

Major Alves to Secy. to Govt. 2d November, 1834.

Major Alves to Secy. to Govt. 2d November, 1834.

Secy. to Govt. to Major Alves, 21st. Novr. 1834.

Despatch Court of Directors, 20th September, 1837.

The Supreme Government sanctioned the measures of negotiation, but it was not prepared to employ "military force for the reduction of the Thakoors." The Honorable the Court of Directors remarked: "With respect to the community of Bheels called Gunga Ka Pal, who are stated to harbor plunderers, we entirely approve of your having authorized the Political Agent to afford his services for any purposes of conciliation, for which they might be solicited by the Pertabgurh Authorities, but not for any purpose of military coercion." The negotiations with the Bheels succeeded. The

Secy. to Govt. N. W. Provinces, to Major Alves, 22nd June, 1836.

Political Agent to Resident at Delhi, 9th June, 1829.

Secy. to Government to Agent, Govr. Genl. 13th June, 1831.

Govr. Genl.'s Agent to Supt. and Poll. Agent, 13th June, 1839.

The Chief of Dangurmhaw, a fort on the crest of one of the steps North East of Neemuch, considered he might take advantage of his position, to plunder the neighbouring country. This was done without reference to whose territory was outraged; and Meywar, Holkar's and Scindiah's districts equally suffered. As Meywar was unable of herself to take the Fort in which the Chief had taken refuge, troops from all three States,

Govr. Genl.'s Agent to Resident at Indore, 6th August, 1834.

Govr. Genl.'s Agent to Secy. to Govt. 12th May, 1835.

evacuated, after which

Govr. Genl.'s Agent to Secy. to Government 18th May, 1836.

Col. Sutherland to Secy. to Government, 11th January, 1839.

Despatch Court of Directors 25th August, 1838, No. 28, Page 9.

would probably have been a sufficient punishment; such persons should not, if it can be avoided, be placed in a position in which they are driven by actual necessity to a life of depredation." Pardon was consequently

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 30th July, 1842.

Thakoors were deprived of their territories, but subsequently reinstated.

In 1829, an attack had been made by the Rao of Beygoon, one of the great feudatories of Meywar, on Singowlee and Nandwye, possessions of Holkar. Government ordered that the damage committed by the Chief as well as the expenses of Holkar should be paid by the Rana. The amount of damage was paid, but the fine for Fauj Khurch (24,000) was resisted, and was not finally liquidated till Novr. 1839, when at the late Coll. Robinson's recommendation, it was deducted from the revenues of Meywar Mhairwarra.

under a British Officer, marched against it; but there appeared little chance of its speedy reduction, as the commanders quarrelled amongst themselves. The place was eventually Major Berthick was deputed by the Resident at Indore to settle the outstanding claims between Scindiah's and the Meywar Governments. The Court of Directors remarked: "This Thakoor, we are aware, was deprived of his lands by the Government of Oodeypoor, in consequence of his determined perseverance in plundering the country of the allies of the British Government, but it is not stated whether a provision was offered to him. The loss of his rank and lands

granted to the Chief after the lapse of a few years.

Offg. Agent, Govr.-General to Pol. Commissioner, 3rd March, 1834.

Col. Sutherland to Major Robinson, 12th June, 1839.

The sovereignty over the hill Chiefship of Sirwan, formerly disputed between Eedur and Meywar had been decided some years previously by the Bombay Government, but the place itself was now seized by Eedur, and the matter was not finally settled till 1839, when it was decided to belong to Oodeypoor.

Col. Spiers being about to visit Oodeypoor, was directed by the Governor-General's Agent to negotiate for the regular payment of the tribute, as well as for seizure of Thugs in Meywar, and to bring the disorderly state of Neemree to the notice of the Durbar. The Agent to the Governor-General reported, that all these points had been satisfactorily arranged by that Officer, and at the same time, in answer to a despatch from Government, observed, that it would be a matter of considerable public benefit to place the duties of the state of Oodeypoor under Lieut.-Col. Spiers. This was accordingly done by the letter of the Secretary to Government, 14th March, 1836, and the Agency of Meywar was established at Neemuch on its present footing.

Secy. to Government to Agent, Govr.-General, 14th March, 1836.

Secy. to Government to Agent Govr.-Genl. 18th May, 1836.

With respect to the arrears of tribute, Col. Spiers was ordered to press the Rana to pay one lakh a year, for their liquidation. The arrears appear to have amounted at this time to nearly six lakhs of Rupees. The Rana paid off half a lakh, but expressed the inability of the State to pay so much as one lakh a year, in addition to the current tribute of three lakhs. His Highness sought a reduction of his tribute, and the Minister gave in a statement of annual receipts and disbursements; the former amounting to 9,57,000, including 2½ lakhs from customs and 1½ from Chuttoond; the expenses amounted to Rs. 11,59,000. Col. Spiers, in forwarding the document, remarked that the accounts were made up for the occasion.

Col. Spiers to Govr.-Genl.'s Agent 2nd May, 1837.

Col. Spiers to Govr.-Genl.'s Agent, 23rd April, 1838.

Despatch Court of Directors, 20th July, 1838. No. 43.

The Rana eventually agreed to the arrangement of liquidating the arrears by a payment of one lakh of rupees a year. The Court of Directors on seeing the state of the finances of Oodeypoor observed: "We regret to find that the tribute is still in arrears, to the extent of 5,72,500, Oodeypoor Rs. exclusive of interest; that the State is otherwise

in debt, and that there is an annual deficit of two lakhs of rupees. Should the Rana fail in his engagement to liquidate the arrears, it will be your duty to require territorial or other sufficient security for it." The tribute, which should have been remitted at an exchange of 135 Oodeypoor Rupees per 100 Siccas, was sent very irregularly, and at an

Col. Alves to Col. exchange of 135 Oodeypoor Rupees per 100
Spiers, 22d Decr. 1835. Sonats instead of 100 Siccas.

The claim for certain villages in Mhairwarra had been long prosecuted by the Rana. It appears that the Superintendent of Mhairwarra

Captain Dixon to Govr.- had established 15 hamlets in a large tract of
Genl.'s Agent, enclosed in ground, and to nine of these, Captain Hall did
letter of latter of 2nd May, not think the claim could be disallowed; but
1836. recommended that half the proceeds should be retained as a contribu-

tion towards the Mhairwarra Battalion. The amount derived from the Meywar villages of Mhairwarra was at this time Oodeypoor Rupees

56,000. Government considered that the vil-
lages in dispute were part of Independent
Mhairwarra, which fell to us by right of con-
quest; but subsequently, as a mark of special
favor, the half rents of the nine villages in
question were made over to the Maha Rana.

Col. Spiers to Col. On the 30th August, 1838, died Maha
Alves, 30th August, 1838. Rana Jowan Singh. Three wives and six con-
cubines accompanied him to the pyre. On his death, a cabal was formed
by the widow of the late Rana's elder brother and Mehta Sher Singh,
for putting aside Sirdar Singh, on account of his having accompanied
the body of his predecessor to the pyre, and placing a nephew on the
throne. The Choondawut chiefs, however, persuaded Sirdar Singh to
ascend the throne and to assume the duties of Government.

Immediately after the Rana's accession, he
Political Agent to Govr.- deprived Mehta Sher Singh of office. The
Genl.'s Agent, 13th De- troops and all the public servants were found
cember, 1838. to be eight or ten months in arrears, and the demands against the State
were as follows :

Arrears of Tribute to 1st December, 1838,	7,82,500
Due to Sahookars, ditto ditto,.....	7,50,000
To Troops and other Retainers;	2,50,000
Sundries, ditto ditto,	1,00,000
Compensation for robberies by subjects of Meywar,...	85,000
	<hr/> 19,67,500

The Rana assured Col: Spiers that he would use his best endeavours to clear off the heavy arrears of tribute, but that, if the smallness of his annual revenue was considered, the tribute chargeable thereon was high, when compared with what was paid by Kotah or Jodhpoor. He hoped, therefore, that Government would assist him, by reducing the tribute to two lakhs of Company's Rupees from three lakhs Oodeypoor Rupees.

Col. Spiers was transferred as Resident to Gwalior, in the end of 1838, and succeeded in the Political Agency Meywar by Lieut.-Col. Robinson.

Col. Sutherland to Secy. to Government, 12th March, 1839. The Maha Rana having called upon the British Government to aid him with troops to put down the insurrection of the Bheels, which broke out in 1839, and to assist in bringing under subjection certain Thakoors of the State, Col. Sutherland thought it a suitable opportunity for bringing to the notice of the Durbar, the obligations they were under to assist us, and requested that 1000 horse and 1000 foot might be assembled for service in Jodhpoor. Col. Robinson took the muster of the force, supplied on this requisition, near Neemuch.

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 5th Novr., 1839. They amounted to 600 Horse and 900 Foot. Of these, only 65 Horse and 430 Foot were in the service of the State, the remainder consisting of the quotas of chiefs. Not above 70 or 80 horses could be pronounced good and serviceable, and many of them were little better than tatoos. The Foot consisted of the Bheem Pultun, about 400 strong, a very fine body of men, well and uniformly equipped, and the quotas of the chiefs, which displayed every diversity of dress and equipment, were of all ages, and bore no appearance of belonging to the Military profession.

Col. Sutherland to Secy. to Government, N. W. Provinces, 30th March, 1840. The Maha Rana having determined to visit Gyah was met at Pohkur by Col. Sutherland. His Highness complained to the Agent of the Governor-General of the estrangement of his chiefs, who had failed in their duty. He attributed this conduct principally to the instigation of the Bhyjee Sahibah, the widow of an elder brother of the late Rana Jowan Singh, who, supported by Rawut Dooley Singh, was plotting to set up his second brother's son, and to supplant him in his sovereignty. The Rana did not suppose there would be any overt act on the part of the Chiefs, but if it were further necessary to strengthen his hands,

beyond the raising of the Bheel Corps, he expressed himself prepared to place at our disposal funds for the payment of a regiment of infantry, to cost 80,000 Rupees per annum, and to be stationed at his capital. The proposition, however, did not appear sufficiently important to the Agent of the Governor-General, to render it desirable that we should enter on the task of reforming the Rana's troops, and take upon ourselves the obligations which this measure would necessarily involve.

Despatch Court of Directors, 25th August, 1841, Para. 20.

The Court of Directors observed: "The Maha Rana, who is stated to be very unpopular with the chiefs, appears anxious to be supported by you in maintaining his authority over them, and has even proposed to subsidize a regiment of infantry, to be stationed at his capital. You have for the present taken no notice of this proposition, which was evidently made with a view to involve you much further than is desirable in the support of the Maha Rana's system of Government."

During Col. Sutherland's visit to Oodeypoor, at the commencement of 1841, he had several interviews with the Rana. His Highness informed him how little congenial to his tastes was the public position he held, as his own inclination pointed to a life of religious seclusion; that it was only when he saw an efficient administration could not be formed, and the principality was in danger of falling to pieces, that he was induced to take the care of Government on himself, to save it from the hands of a woman and child. The 2nd question brought forward by the Rana was, the extent of lands conferred on some of his favorites by the late Maha Rana, and the claims of the State to a sixth or Chuttoond. Many of the estates had increased, but the amount levied upon them was not augmented. Col. Sutherland was of opinion that the estates of the chiefs were much better "managed than the Khalsa or crown lands. Many of the former are in a condition of high prosperity, whilst the latter are in a condition very discreditable to the Oodeypoor administration." The 3d question was regarding the succession, and the probability, that if his second brother's son succeeded, the administration of affairs would fall into the hands of those from whom he desired to exclude it. The last request referred to the continuance after his death, of the allowance enjoyed by his minister, Melhta Ram Singh. "It is upwards of 14 years," says Col. Sutherland,

“since I saw the city and portion of the territory of Oodeypoor, and I looked with some anxiety for those outward signs of improvement and prosperity, which so long a period of external and internal peace might be expected to exhibit. The lands of the chiefs near Mhairwarra bore evident marks of their having imbibed a portion of Captain Dixon’s system of management. Their old tanks were all in repair, some new ones had been constructed, the lands well cultivated, and altogether there was an appearance of prosperity. Matters, however, assumed a very different character when we entered on the Khalsa possessions of the State. I did not see one entire tank, whilst we passed many tanks in ruins, for the repair of which a few thousand rupees would suffice.” The minister attributed this neglect to the system adopted by his rival, of farming the Pergunnahs, and promised improvement. Colonel Sutherland observed, that after leaving Oodeypoor, the same results were evident in the Koomulmeer Pergunnah, from the good management of the chiefs, whose possessions were comparatively prosperous, whilst the whole of the Khalsa of the districts, consisting of 350 towns and villages, was farmed to a banker, and managed exclusively by his officers.

The Court of Directors “regret to learn Despatch of Court of Directors, 21st Dec. 1842, from Lieut.-Col. Sutherland’s report of his para. 31. journey through Meywar, that the country shows no signs of improvement, and that the most necessary public works, those for the purposes of irrigation, are neglected and falling into decay. The influence of the Political Agent should be exerted to induce the Rana to attend to those important matters, to which his present state of financial embarrassment is probably the chief impediment.”

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 26th Sept. 1846. It may be mentioned that Col. Robinson combatted this statement of the deteriorated condition of Meywar. He did not conceive that the system of Government was worse than in neighbouring states, and he considered that considerable improvement had taken place within the last 18 years. The British district of Ajmere, he remarked, was not a fair one for comparison, its improvement resulting from the sacrifice of the greater portion of its revenue, a sacrifice which few, if any native states could afford to make.

Towards the end of 1841, the Maha Rana, without previous notice to the Political Agent, publicly adopted as his

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 29th October, 1841. successor, Surup Singh, his youngest brother.

The minister ascribed the Rana's conduct in adopting without having first received the assent of the British Government to inebriety, to which His Highness had lately addicted himself. Shortly afterwards, His Highness solicited permission to retire to Brindabun. The Political Agent in

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 20th April, 1842. forwarding the application, alluded to the financial embarrassments the State laboured

under, which would be considerably increased by the appropriation of a lakh of rupees a year for the Rana's expenditure at Brindabun, and that eventually, we should be forced to return to the system of direct interference in the internal affairs of the country exercised by Captains Tod and Cobbe, to secure our own financial interests in Meywar, and to interpose a decided and effectual mediation between the Rana and his chiefs.

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 16th July, 1842. Before the Maha Rana's object could be accomplished, he died, on the 14th July, 1842.

"He was not," observed Col. Robinson, "a popular prince among his subjects, in consequence of the measures he found himself obliged to adopt to retrieve the financial difficulties in which he found the State involved, after the wasteful prodigality of his predecessor." Only one passwan became suttee with the Rana.

Col. Sutherland to Secy. to Government, 18th July, 1842. The Agent of the Governor-General "trusted that the circumstance might be received as a token of the decline of this rite, in even the highest of the Rajpoot houses. But," he continued, "I fear the estimation in which the deceased may have been held in public, and in private life, may be expected very much to influence such sacrifices, and in neither relation can Maha Rana Sirdar Singh be considered to have held a prominent place." Maha Rana Sirdar Singh was succeeded by his adopted son and younger brother, Maha Rana Surup Singh, the present ruler of Meywar.

Col. Robinson to Major Thoresby, 15th July, 1844. Two years after his accession, the Rana expelled from office minister Ram Singh, and placed Sher Singh again in power. The Political Agent considered that the change would be for the better, as Sher Singh was on good

Col. Robinson to Major
Thoresby, 15th February,
1845.

terms with the chiefs. During the visit paid by the Political Agent to the capital in the cold season of 1844—45, the Rana's conversation, among other matters, referred to the embezzlements by the ex-minister, which he estimated at from 18 to 20 lakhs of rupees. The Political Agent deemed this incredible, since the revenue was said not to exceed 10 or 11 lakhs, and to fall short of the expenditure by about 1½ lakhs per annum ; whilst the minister's last tenure of office had lasted only six years ; during which time the State debts had not materially increased. The Rana explained this, by saying the money had been extorted from his subjects, beyond the State demands. The Political Agent informed the Rana " that he had heard that the poor man had been subjected to very harsh usage during his imprisonment, even to the extent of being kept without sustenance for two days at a time."

Col. Robinson to Col.
Sutherland, 27th February,
1847.

The Rana denied that any thing of the kind had occurred with his knowledge. Two years afterwards, the ex-minister and the son of the Rana's elder brother (who so nearly supplanted His Highness's predecessor on the throne) were accused of conspiring against him, and His Highness told the Political Agent, that he had resolved on imprisoning the latter for life. The day after this interview, the ex-minister Ram Singh escaped from the city, and threw himself on the Political Agent's protection. The Rana was exceedingly bitter against him, but eventually consented to his accompanying the Political Agent's camp, after inflicting on him a fine of 10 lakhs of rupees. Ram Singh was banished Meywar, and the Rana had his reported misdeeds, cut in stone, placed near the palace gates.

The commutation of the tribute from three lakhs of Oodeypoor Rupees to two lakhs of Company's Rupees had been long sought by the Rana, and recommended by the Political Agents. Government, however, desired further information regarding the revenues and disbursements of the State.

Secy. to Government to
Agent Governor-General,
16th March, 1840,

Pol. Agent, Meywar, to
Agent Governor-General,
20th April, 1840.

The minister gave in a statement which exhibited great discrepancies when compared with that previously furnished to Col. Spiers. Both, however, showed a deficiency in assets, amounting to two lakhs yearly. The receipts and disbursements were set down at 11 and 13 lakhs respectively.

Pol. Agent, Meywar, to
Agent Governor-General,
1st March, 1841.

The Political Agent remarked : " It might have been expected, that more than 20 years of peace and tranquillity would have brought about a gradual and permanent improvement in the revenues of a country possessing such capabilities as Meywar ; but such expectation has not been realized. That no permanent improvement has been effected, has been in some measure ascribed to the profuse and ill-judged liberality of the late Maha Rana, in assigning away portions of the Khalsa lands and villages to favorite chiefs and dependents, either in free gift or at a merely nominal rent, exchanging flourishing villages for others less prosperous, and many other inconsiderate acts." As Meywar is still burdened " with a heavy debt, notwithstanding the efforts made for its redemption by the Rana, and an inquisitorial scrutiny into the affairs of a State having the least pretensions to independence would be highly offensive to it," the Agent recommended the grant of the favor sought, " involving a sacrifice on our part of about 24,000 Rs. a year."

Despatch Court of Direc-
tors, 21st December, 1842,
paras. 25 and 26.

The Court of Directors observed, " that embarrassments occasioned by the extravagance of His Highness's predecessor cannot be admitted as grounds for a reduction of tribute, when this was not fixed too high. The Rana had a right to resume the undue alienations of revenue, and aid might be afforded to him in making such an arrangement with the holders of the recently alienated lands, as should appear after enquiry to be just, and enable the State to fulfil its prior obligations to the British Government, but the Court would greatly regret the necessity of an authoritative interference."

Political Agent, Meywar,
to Governor-General's
Agent, 4th Nov. 1843.

When the Maha Rana again pressed the subject, the Political Agent said, the expenditure of the State exceeded its income between one and two lakhs of rupees, and that its debts amounted to about 22 lakhs, exclusive of about 7 lakhs arrears of tribute still due to our Government. The Revenue was stated at 13,70,000 and the disbursements at 16,50,000. The Court of Directors, on hearing this account of the Oodeypoor finances, remarked : " We regret to learn that the tribute of the Oodeypoor State is seven lakhs in arrears, and that the other debts amount to 22 lakhs. These embarrassments originated with the prede-

Despatch Court of Di-
rectors, 19th March, 1845,
paras. 22 and 23.

cessors of the present Maha Rana, but it also appears that under his administration, the expenditure exceeds the receipts by from one to two lakhs per annum. The Maha Rana presses for a diminution of his tribute, but this you have refused to grant, at least until you receive more complete information respecting the revenue and expenses of the State. A tribute of Company's Rupees 2,32,000 ought not to press heavily upon a state of the extent and importance of Oodeypoor."

Col. Robinson to Agent,
Governor-General, 15th
February, 1845.

The Political Agent informed the Maha Rana, that Government did not desire "to press hard upon him," but that they could place no confidence in the accounts of receipt and expenditure furnished by his minister. His Highness promised a statement, made out under his own inspection, which should be beyond cavil, and which he sent in the following year. The Political Agent remarked that there was no material difference between this document and those before furnished,

Col. Robinson to Agent
Governor-General, 23d
May, 1846.

which might not be accounted for by unavoidable fluctuations in revenue collections; and that the expenditure exceeded the income by 1,84,000 Rupees, whilst a heavy debt of 10 to 12 lakhs of Rupees still remained unliquidated. The Political Agent remarked that when the Rana came to the throne, the liabilities of the State were estimated at from 15 to 20 lakhs of Rupees; that His Highness had appropriated for their liquidation, the fines contingently derived from his Kamdars, as also the three lakhs received as Nuzzeranah from his nobles and chiefs.

Agreeably to the request now preferred, the tribute was commuted in July 1846 to two lakhs of Company's Rupees per annum.

In reviewing this subject, it would appear that the State debts, including tribute, amounted at the end of 1843 to no less than 29 lakhs of rupees, whilst in less than three years afterwards they had diminished to 10 or 12 lakhs, throughout which period, there was, according to the Durbar's showing, an accruing deficiency of 1,80,000 a year. The revenue was put down at 13¾ lakhs, from which it was declared difficult to pay Rs. 2,32,000, though, when Captain Cobbe resigned control over the finances, with a revenue of only 10½ lakhs, the State paid 2,84,000 Rs. and was paying besides the arrears of former years; and at the very time these asseverations were made, credit was taken for paying off no less a sum than 17 lakhs in three years. No officer would of course expect a great degree of accuracy in accounts of their own

finances furnished by native states, when an object was to be gained by depreciating the amount of income, but the wonder is, that such glaring inconsistencies as the above should have been altogether overlooked.

The Maha Rana, after the appointment of Sher Singh, as his minister, altered the tenure by which those functionaries held office. The constant changes in these officers, and the certainty of their being mulcted on losing office, had led to the Pradhans using every species of extortion and oppression, to make a purse as speedily as possible, and to this Col. Sutherland had ascribed much of the misery

he had seen in the country. Mehta Sher Singh, by the new arrangement, was to render his accounts regularly every quarter, and to receive a salary of Oodeypooree Rupees 20,000 a year, with an allowance of Rs. 8,000 a year for office. This arrangement may perhaps last as long as the present Maha Rana, who manages his own affairs and keeps his own accounts, is on the throne, but it is little relief to the people. They were formerly oppressed by the Kamdars of the ministers, now it is by those of the crown.

In 1847, the Lieut.-Governor, N. W. P. visited Mhairwarra. He expressed his regret that the transfer of neither the Meywar nor Marwar share of Mhairwarra was permanent, the lease of both having expired. The Meywar share was set aside for the payment of the Meywar Bheel Corps, but the renewed transfer had been a subject of negotiation. Very much had been done by the officers employed, for the welfare and happiness of the Mhairs, but more had yet to be done for the improvement of their social condition, which could only be accomplished on the understanding that the people were never to be removed from the protection of the British Government. It was a question whether we should now be justified in withdrawing our protection, and it would almost be a breach of good faith to give up the Mhairs, in their present comparatively helpless condition, to be plundered by their former masters, "and therefore," said Mr. Thomason, "before further developing the industry and the resources of the district, we must hold out to the people the certain prospect, that the hopes now raised will be made good. This can only be done by keeping in our own hands the administration of the country."

Col. Dixon to Col. Sutherland, 2nd February, 1847. The Maha Rana proposed to renew the lease of Mhairwarra for a further term of five years, but coupled his offer with conditions that would have admitted the intervention of his officers, to the absence of whose interference it was owing, that Meywar Mhairwarra owed its present prosperity. Col. Dixon submitted therefore, that the Meywar portion should continue a component part of Mhairwarra, so long as it might be deemed necessary to maintain the Meywar Bheel Corps. He had seen a large portion of Meywar on his return from the Lieut.-Governor's Camp, and found it in a great measure waste and uncultivated, though possessing unusual capabilities for agriculture.

Col. Sutherland to Secy. to Government, 15th January, 1848. The Governor-General's Agent was of opinion, that an engagement should be entered into with the Durbar, to cede the villages to us for as long a period as might suit our purposes. The Rana in reply to this demand, agreed to the permanent transfer of Mhairwarra, provided he was allowed the farm of the Districts of Jawud, Jeerun, Necmuch, &c. which had, by the treaty of Gwalior, fallen to our management and which, by the 7th Article of the treaty with Oodeypoor, he considered we were bound to make over to him. The Political Agent

Report by Political Agent, 31st January, 1850. supported the views of the Rana, and urged, "as far as I am aware, all that has been advanced in refutation of the pretensions of Meywar is, that the time and manner of using our exertions for the restoration of the lands are perfectly optional, but if no exertions have been made for that purpose in a period of more than 30 years, it cannot be considered strange that the Oodeypoor Durbar should despair of any being ever made."

Despatch Court of Directors, 15th August, 1849, Paras. 12 & 14. The Court of Directors remarked, "The Maha Rana of Oodeypoor intimated that he would only consent to it, (transfer of Mhairwarra,) if we would replace under his Government the districts of Jawud Neemuch, originally severed from his territory by Scindiah, and of which we acquired by the treaty of Gwalior the permanent management. By one of the articles of the Treaty with Oodeypoor, the British Government undertook to endeavour to obtain the restoration of these districts, whenever it could do so with propriety, and their situation (surrounded in all directions by the Meywar Ellaka) would

render the adoption of the Maha Rana's proposal for renting them, convenient, but it would be most objectionable to place additional districts under a Government, whose management of its own territory, according to the testimony of Lieut.-Col. Sutherland and of Lieut.-Col. Dixon, is both inefficient and oppressive.

" You have, for the present, dropped the negociation, and propose to continue the existing system without any definite engagement ; but if either of the Durbars should positively object to this course, much difficulty might arise, and we are anxious that the first favorable opportunity should be taken for obtaining the consent of the Durbars to a permanent arrangement." In this unsatisfactory state, our right to manage Mhairwarra at present remains, as the nominal Sovereignty of the districts of Jawud Neemuch still rests with Scindiah.

Col. Robinson died on June 17th, 1850, and was succeeded in the Political Agency by Col. Lawrence.

The evils of the tripartite treaty between Meywar Mhairwarra and Jeypoor, by which the offspring of a Princess of Oodeypoor was to succeed to the throne of any other Rajpoot state to the prejudice of elder children, has been already alluded to. A marriage of this nature

was contracted in 1851 by the Maha Rao of Kotah, with a niece of the Rana, and an agreement signed by the Maha Rao and his

grown-up son, by which the latter is to succeed to the throne of Kotah ; but, on his death, his offspring is to be set aside, in favor of the children of the Oodeypoor Princess. Col. Low, in returning the

Khureetas on the subject remarked " that the request was most unreasonable, and that the consent of the Kotah Chief did not at all render it less imperative on him to refuse his support to it."

The boundary between Meywar and Boondee which had been for many years the scene of contention and open fight, was decided along its whole length in the cold season of 1853—54. Shortly afterwards, the Meenas at the northern end of the boundary were concerned in

most daring highway and gang-robberies, and Captain Showers, Asst. Agent Governor-General, was deputed, in consequence, to Jhajpoor. Since the period when the management of the district had been surrendered to the Rana, its lawless state had been constantly

brought to notice. In 1835, Captain Ludlaw, Political Agent, Harowtee, recommended the employment of Military force to reduce it to submission, and that the British Government itself should assume its temporary management, and Col. Alves was directed to inform the Durbars of Meywar and Jeypoor, that the continued neglect of the districts would probably lead to this result. Captain Showers, in his

report, gave a history of the origin of the Meenas, their bravery and physical qualities. They were treated with appalling severity during the time of Zalim Singh's occupation of the Pergunnah. Upon a robbery being traced to a village, it was surrounded, all the men found in it were at once decapitated, and the women compelled to carry the heads of their husbands in basketsfull through the neighbouring villages, singing their usual jubilee songs. The lawless state of the district was ascribed by Captain Showers to the bad management of the native rulers, by which the Meenas were subjected to heavy fines, and whilst much, and the richest part, of the land had been made Khal-sa, the population had gone on increasing. He recommended, as a remedy for those evils, that heavy fines should cease, and the lands be restored to the villages to which they belonged. An armed demonstration against the marauders by the troops of the four states adjoining the district was also advised, which was to be followed by the entertainment of a certain number of the Meenas in a corps to be embodied

for the purpose. Col. Lawrence agreed with Captain Showers in considering that the measure from which alone permanent good could result, was the formation of a Legion of Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry under British Officers, into which force the Meenas themselves might enlist; the Officer commanding the Legion having magisterial powers under the Political Agent, Meywar.

No measures having been taken by the Oodeypoor State for the punishment of those guilty of the gang-robberies in the Ajmere district, a demonstration of troops was made in the cold season of 1854—55, when some of the principal culprits surrendered themselves. They were tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Obstacles, however, were thrown in the way of raising the Meena corps by the Oodeypoor Durbar, to whom the plan was obnoxious as lessening the independence of the Rana in an important part of his dominions.

In 1853, the subject of the swinging of witches, with exactly the same cruel circumstances and under the same superstitious feelings that prevailed in our own country not very long ago, was brought prominently to notice, in consequence of a woman having been put to death by a Sepoy of the Meywar Bheel Corps. The Sepoy was tried at Neemuch and convicted, but pardoned, in consequence of the ignorance of the Bheels and their general belief in witchcraft; and because the particular case had occurred previous to the promulgation of any orders in the regiment, rendering penal the practice of torturing poor women under the supposition of their being witches. Negotiations were at the same time entered into with the Rana to put a stop to the practice throughout Meywar. To this, His Highness eventually agreed, though himself believing implicitly in sorcery, for the supposed use of which he had expelled his ex-minister and imprisoned for life his nephew. The necessary proclamations prohibiting the practice were issued towards the close of 1853.

The account of the disputes between the Maha Rana and his chiefs and the various negotiations which have been mediated between them, as well as the measures for the pacification of the Bheel tracts will be noticed in separate chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF NEGOCIATIONS BETWEEN THE MAHA RANA OF OODEYPOOR AND HIS CHIEFS.

IN setting forth an account of the connection of the British Government with the State of Oodeypoor, the relations between the Rana and his chiefs have been only partially alluded to, partly because the subject could not be treated without confusion in the general history, and partly because the merits of the question are difficult to be appreciated and require an extended notice, as they have, for some time, threatened an open rupture.

None of the principal chiefs of Meywar are the descendants of those who received estates in the country on its conquest by Bappa Rawul. Of the existing chiefs, some are of tribes differing from the Oodeypoor family, while the greater number are collateral descendants of comparatively recent Ranas, the oldest and most important being separated from the reigning prince by eighteen generations, or about 480 years. The latter regard themselves as a brotherhood, of which the Rana is the head. They possess peculiar privileges, and are called *Home* chieftains, in contradistinction to chiefs who have emigrated from other countries, and acquired estates and titles in Meywar, and who are called *Foreign* chieftains. The most important of the *Home* chieftains or indeed of all the chiefs, is the Rawut of Suloombur, the head of the clan "Choondawut" and the direct descendant of Choonda, who surrendered his right to the throne to his younger brother Mokul. Choondo, as head of the clan, retained for his descendants, under the name of "Baujgurrea," the right to advise in all important matters of state, and the principal place in the councils of his sovereign. The extent of power so retained, is vague. In each Rajpoot family and even in each Bheel Pal, especially in case of incompetency in the head, there

is a "Baujgurrea," who is consulted in all important transactions, and without whose advice nothing is undertaken. Sir John Malcolm, no

Malcolm's Central India, mean authority, translates the term, "medi-
I. 549. ator or councillor," and says that in a state,

such a person is generally deemed a channel of intercourse between the prince and his subjects. Whatever the power, it is evident that it could only be exercised with benefit when the sovereign and his "Baujgurrea" were on good terms: when they were at enmity, it was a firebrand in the state, and at best was always a galling check on the prince. For generations, the Ranas had attempted to free themselves from this thralldom, and they had been frequently on bad terms with the Soolumbur chiefs, to induce their absence from court, during which period, of course, the "Baujgurrea" fell into desuetude. At the time that the treaty with the British Government was being drawn out, it may be remembered that the Agent of the Rana desired to introduce a clause guaranteeing the "Baujgurrea" to the Soolumbur Rawut, in the same manner as at Kotah, in after years, a like power was guaranteed to Zalim Singh under the title of "regent." Sir Charles Metcalfe

merely gave an assurance to the Agents that
Sir C. Metcalfe to Government, 1st February, 1818. "the good conduct of the minister would ensure His Lordship's approbation."

The branches from the Suloombur house are numerous, and include several chiefs of the first class, in consequence of which, the family is more powerful than that of the sovereign. Next in importance to the Choondawut chieftains, are the "Sukhtawuts," the descendants of the brother of Pertab Rana, by name Sukhta, whose progeny increased in a short time to a considerable number, and were fostered by the Princes of Meywar to balance the power of the Choondawuts.

The court maintained by the chiefs at their own capitals, is an exact counterpart of that of their Prince. The class is so highly privileged that they exhibit, says Captain Tod, "few of the marks of vassalage observable at other courts, and only on occasion of particular festivals and solemnities, do they ever join the prince's cavalcade. Should they meet their prince, it is more as equal sovereigns than as sovereign and vassal." In Durbar, they take rank above the heir-apparent, a custom unprecedented in India, and granted in consequence of the heir-apparent having attended the Emperor's court. When a

chief enters the presence, the entire court, including the prince, rises to receive him, and the whole ceremonial is so intricate, that it has been a puzzle to every European Officer who has had any connection with Meywar.

The estates of the chiefs are managed by Kamdars, without pay, who supply their immediate wants, and who are fined a small sum on occasion of marriages, &c. The chief from his estate, has to supply with food, clothing and opium, all his needy relations, even those most remotely connected with him, so that the size of his estate is no criterion of his wealth ; some, with the largest estates, having more than the average proportion of dependents. Thus, in the midst of affluence, they are generally in poverty, and the longer the period of peace, the more does this evil increase.

In times anterior to the families of any of the present chieftains, it was the custom after every few years, to change the jageers of the chiefs, that none of them might acquire local attachments. Their interests consequently drew them nearer the sovereign, to whom they looked for preferment and at whose court they naturally remained. In later times, however, the system changed. The Ranas, frequently driven from their own possessions, were more anxious to secure the personal liberty of themselves and their subjects, than to preserve a custom which became unsuited to the times, and which they were unable to maintain.

With fixed estates, the chiefs acquired influence, and the gallant deeds of many of their number, in the long contested struggle for independence against the Mahomedan Empire, induced the sovereigns to load them with honors and to increase their possessions. On the cessation of foreign war, internal discord, the bane of the feudal system, quickly broke out. The Ranas invited the treacherous aid of the Mahrattas, and for their support they sacrificed the most fertile portions of their dominions. The loss fell on the crown, and gave a greater preponderance than ever to the Home chieftains, whose estates lay more in the centre of the country. The condition of Meywar, overrun by predatory armies, rendered the construction of forts necessary to all who could afford to build them. These, while they protected the estates, added to the independence of the chiefs, and enabled them to undertake plundering expeditions on their own account, in which the unprotected crown lands chiefly suffered.

At the date of the treaty with the British Government, the chiefs were so many independent Princes. They felt doubtless their isolated situations, and looked back with regret to the past glory of Meywar with which their own consequence was intimately bound up. They were therefore willing to join in any project, and to make adequate sacrifices, for its resuscitation. The utter desolation of the country and the piteous condition of their Sovereign could not fail to touch them, whilst, on their own account, they desired a period of repose.

Captain Tod's agreement (Kaulnamah)

Appendix C.

between the Rana and chiefs, was mediated when the parties were in this frame of mind. By it, the chiefs were called on to restore the usurpations of the previous fifty years. This must have cost many of them bitter pangs. The estate of the Deoghur Rawut fell from two lakhs of Rupees a year to one lakh, and many others suffered equally. When the strong attachment of Rajpoots to land, however obtained, is considered, and when it is borne in mind that the whole influence of the families and retainers of the chiefs must have been exerted to prevent a diminution of the estates, this voluntary sacrifice of so great a portion of their property cannot but be regarded as a remarkable exhibition of their desire to preserve their country and Government, and of the influence over their minds possessed by the officer who could induce them to accede to it. In consideration of the relinquishment of their usurpations, they were guaranteed the maintenance of their rights and privileges, the encroachment on which has been ever since a never-failing source of strife and contention.

Captain Tod to Secy.
to Government, 16th July,
1821.

The chiefs, by Tod's Kaulnamah, bound themselves to serve personally at court with their full quotas, but, as it was equally desirable that they should improve their estates, the period of time during which the service was to last was fixed at three months for each chief, instead of six months as formerly; and no money-payment was required from them in addition.

The amount of the quotas with which service was to be performed was the same as formerly, viz., two horsemen and four foot soldiers per 1000 Rupees of rent. The chiefs were slack in the performance of this duty, partly from natural apathy and indolence; and partly, because sufficient time had not been allowed to elapse to recruit their resources. Their quotas were complained of as inefficient, seldom

mustering more than half the number ordered, and considering themselves independent of the Rana's officers.

Captain Tod in his last despatch before leaving the country proposed a "plan for adding to the Khalsa and the tribute, by deducting a few villages from each chief, or at least those deficient in duty, which might yield two lakhs annually, and a twelfth part of their estates at the ancient inferior rate of assessment, would provide this, and individually not be felt; their common duties then would be mere attendance on their prince, and all altercation would be avoided." If this proposal had been carried out, it would have abolished altogether the service of the quotas of the chiefs, the equivalent for which was rated at one-twelfth part of their rent-rolls, which was no doubt too low an assessment.

I have been informed by the late minister of Oodeypoor, that the first occasion of the levy of any money from the chiefs was on occasion of the marriage of the Rana's daughters, when one-sixth of their rent-rolls was taken as nuzzeranah by the Political Agent; that Captain Waugh wished to continue the assessment the following year, during Captain Tod's absence at Kota, but that the latter officer on his return objected to it, as contrary to the feudal tenure. He suggested, however, the levy of one-tenth for the purposes of police, which was carried out by Captain Waugh, though the amount taken was still one-sixth. This statement of the late minister is fully corroborated by Captain Cobbe

who says, "Shortly previous to Captain Tod's departure, and during the time Captain Waugh acted, a collection was made from the chiefs under the name of *tenths*, but really 1-6th. It was, as far as I can trace, levied in the first instance on the occasion of the marriage of the Rana's children. The chiefs paid the sum, it is true, but with great reluctance, and in utter ignorance of the ground of the demand or the appropriation of the cash."

This was the origin of the assessment called "chuttoond" (one-sixth) and it is no wonder that the chiefs objected to pay it, as the tax had not received their consent. It cannot be considered to have been originally a legal impost, and hence much of the opposition that any innovation in its amount always met with and the reason why the estates, on which it was levied, were not more exactly assessed at first;

as refusal to pay it on the part of any chief would have upset it altogether. The measure was only carried by inducing the belief that it was levied by order of the British Government. Captain Cobbe continues, "His Highness, to induce compliance, assured them (the chiefs) it was demanded by and given to the British Government."

The Governor-General had viewed as highly expedient "the plan of a general commutation in money or land, for service so irregularly performed as the military duties of the feudatories of Oodeypoor, and which indeed belong to a former age and a state of society that it is by no means desirable to revive. From the funds thus acquired, it is proposed to create an efficient Military Establishment for the Rana." It was, however, very far from the intention of the Governor-General, to order the levy of the impost without the consent of the parties concerned, and the despatch expressly says, that "it will require much address and discretion in the execution."

Captain Tod had proposed the tax as a means of maintaining a body of police in lieu of the inefficient quotas of the chiefs. Sir D.

Ochterlony observed: "The tythe was demanded, if I recollect rightly, to furnish certain garrisons and posts, which being loosely and improperly performed, it was thought better to raise mercenaries for those purposes." The subsequent agreement lays down distinctly that the money was intended for police purposes only; though it appears to have been always appropriated to the general expenses of the state.

Captain Waugh to Sir D. Ochterlony, 27th February, 1823. Though Captain Waugh failed to obtain the consent of the chiefs (which he attributed to the opposition of the Choondawut faction) yet the levy of the tax was continued, and its amount squandered by the Rana. The objections of the chiefs were not alluded to. The Rana regarded them, says Captain Cobbe, "as rebellious subjects, whom he is unable to crush; and they look on him as a tyrant, whom they dare not openly defy." However disobedient they might be, he was unwilling to avail himself of the influence of the Agent, of whom he was jealous and who, he was told, desired to lower the power of the chiefs, with the view of lessening his dignity, that he might be gradually degraded, and rendered entirely dependent on the British Government.

The chuttoond tax appears to have been levied for years, in addi-

tion to the service fixed by Captain Tod, but irregularly performed. Captain Cobbe desired its legalization, and held out to the chiefs the hopes of lessening their service for their cheerful acquiescence in the

impost. He wrote, "The ground of my proposal to them (the chiefs) is, that since the Rana, by a heavy pecuniary sacrifice, secures them from external enemies, they ought to help to maintain the internal quiet of the country. As the inefficiency of their quotas is undeniable, it seems desirable that a portion of their service should be commuted for a sum of money, which will enable the Rana to maintain a force; nor can they consider one-sixth or $2\frac{3}{4}$ annas in the rupee as a heavy contribution, in lieu of half their service, when the Rana pays three-eighths, or six annas in the rupee to the British Government, in the benefits of which they all participate.

"It would have been more advantageous to the Rana, to have commuted the whole of their military service for money, but such a measure would have been hard upon the chiefs, who have numbers of relations and retainers, for whose support they must provide, and who will now be sufficient to perform all the service required. The sum raised by these collections will be Rs. 1,80,000."

Appendix D.

The proposals of Captain Cobbe were forwarded to Government some time after the direct control in the internal affairs of Meywar by the Political Agent had been withdrawn. Captain Cobbe remarked

Captain Cobbe to Sir C. Metcalfe, 23d April, 1827. with truth, "The active part taken in the

affairs of Meywar by the Agent of the British Government gave him an understood influence, never asserted or denied, but which has hitherto acted as a restraint on both parties, and without exertion, kept them in their proper relative situations. This exists no longer, and if some substitute be not found, I much fear the active and constant interference of Government will be necessary, to preserve the quiet of Meywar." The principle of the arrangement drawn out by Captain Cobbe, with regard to the main points of chut-toond and service, was, that the chiefs should pay one-sixth of the annual income of their estates, and be excused half of the service they were bound by Captain Tod's Kaulnamah to perform; that is to say, they were to perform service for three months in the year with one horse-man and two footmen per 1000 rupees of rent, instead of with two

horsemen and four footmen as per Captain Tod's Kaulnamah. If we calculate the pay of a horseman at 18 Rs. a month and that of a foot-man at five, then the account will stand thus, by the original sunnuds. Two horse and four foot for six months equals 322 or one-third of the rental. By Captain Tod's Kaulnamah two horse and two foot for three months, 166 or 1-6 of the rental. By Captain Cobbe's Kaulnamah one horse and one foot for three months, equal 84 and chuttond 166, total 250, or one-fourth of the rental, which, considering the difficulty of meeting cash-payments, may be regarded as as high an assessment as that of the original sunnud.

Sir C. Metcalfe. Secy.
to Government, 7th May,
1827.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, in forwarding the Kaulnamah to Government for sanction, remarked : " If *sanction* merely means *permission*, that would be alike harmless and unnecessary ; but if, as I suppose, a guarantee be recommended, there seems to me to be an important objection to that proceeding. It appears to be universally admitted, that interference in the affairs of foreign states is to be deprecated. It is consequently of the greatest importance to avoid any step which must tend to render our interference perpetual, and such is the inevitable tendency of the proceedings which Captain Cobbe recommends. As both parties are sensible of the advantages of the agreements, and anxious that it should be permanent, and if we continue to exercise our interference in Oodeypoor, we shall be able to interfere with respect to a known agreement between the Rana and his chiefs as lawfully as in other internal affairs, without binding ourselves to any previous pledge, and without setting up an insurmountable bar to the relinquishment of interference, I therefore submit that the agreement be sanctioned without being guaranteed ; in other words, acknowledged as the act of the Rana and his chiefs."

Sir C. Metcalfe to Cap-
tain Cobbe, 7th June,
1827.

In conformity with this recommendation, the agreement was *sanctioned*, but not *guaranteed*. It appears to have been irregularly acted on, as if guaranteed, though the nuzzeranah of one lakh of rupees, which the chiefs lodged on the occasion was returned to them by the Political Agent, which marked strongly the fact of its non-guarantee by the British Government.

At this time, the measures of the ministry of Oodeypoor were harsh and oppressive in the extreme, so that a large body of Rajpoots were driven into rebellion, and the Rana applied for the support of a

Sir J. Colebrooke to
Captain Cobbe, 19th
March, 1828.

British force to coerce his Thakoors. Sir J. Colebrooke remarked, "It is lamentable to see the rapid deterioration of Meywar, under an administration whose oppressions have driven some of the principal Thakoors into rebellion, and exposed the state to be overrun by the predatory incursions of the exiles. I cannot, however, hold out any hope that Government may be induced to authorize the active interference solicited, of a military force for suppressing enormities to which the measures of the ministers themselves have given rise."

Propositions submitted
to Governor-General by
Maha Rana, February,
1832.

When Maha Rana Jowan Singh in A. D. 1832, visited the Governor-General at Ajmere, he submitted another application for troops to coerce his refractory vassals. The answer to the demand was much as above, that "If troops are employed at the requisition of the native authorities to coerce their subjects, it becomes necessary to extend the cognizance and protection of the Government to the latter." After the return of this Maha Rana from his pilgrimage, he called upon the chiefs for a nuzzeranah to cover his expenses. They paid him double chuttoond, on condition of his securing them in their rights, and a Kaulnamah on a very fair and just basis was given to them. The chuttoond and service by this were fixed at what had been previously paid.

Appendix E.

No sooner had Maha Rana Sirdar Singh ascended the throne, than he complained to Col. Spiers, that several of the chiefs were inclined to intrude their advice in the affairs of Government, and were otherwise evincing symptoms of not being well affected; he ascribed this to his having placed the ex-minister in confinement, and convicted the eldest son of the Raja of Gogoondah of having engaged a Brahman to practice some magical incantations upon him. The Maha Rana also accused some of the chiefs of watching our proceedings on the North-West, with the view of taking advantage of any opportunity to engage in lawless courses.

The same complaints were made to Col. Sutherland at Ajmere, of the failure of the chiefs in their obedience to His Highness's commands. The Maha Rana said that fourteen out of the sixteen principal chiefs had withdrawn when he was about to proceed on his pilgrimage. Dooley Singh Choondawut the chief of Ahseend was accused, together with the widow of the late Rana's elder brother, of instigating the

rest in their opposition, and of intending to set up a member of Maharaja Sher Singh's family. Colonel Sutherland addressed the chiefs then present, the Rana assuring him, that what he said would be speedily communicated to all. He informed them he had heard of the undutiful conduct of certain of their brethren, and of an intention on their part to disturb the succession. "I observed," says Col. Sutherland, "that whilst there was no complaint any where of the infringement of their rights and privileges, such rebellious conduct could not fail to be reprobated, and that it would not be tolerated by the British Government, which would be found prepared to support the Maha Rana in all his legitimate pretensions."

In the following year at Oodeypoor, the Maha Rana reiterated the complaints, and also brought forward the chuttoond question. He

Col. Sutherland to
Secy. to Government, 3d
April, 1841.

said, that in the time of his predecessor, the chuttoond had, in many instances, been commuted into a fixed money-payment, much below the fair equivalent, and that most of the estates had increased, whilst the original money-payments remained the same; that written engagements had been taken from the chiefs, in Major Robinson's presence, to pay the chuttoond on the increased and increasing capabilities of their several estates, and that as differences of opinion would arise, he proposed "that the state should take the management of the property into its own hands, or rent it out to farmers for a period sufficient to gain the necessary information."

Colonel Sutherland remarked, "that there was no doubt the chiefs were bound by this agreement. But how far the Sovereign has ever been in a condition to adopt the measures necessary to ascertain what those resources are, or how far it is either our duty or our interest to assist him in carrying through measures, obviously calculated to deteriorate property, and to lead to perpetual strife, are questions which deserve to be well considered, before we pledge ourselves to such a course. It does not, that I am aware, prevail in any other part of Rajpootana."

Despatch Court of Directors, 21st Dec. 1842, paras. 27 and 29.

On those reports, the Honorable Court recommended an appeal being made to a council of the most influential chieftains, as at Jodhpoor, where the settlement of far greater difficulties was accomplished in the manner proposed, and that advantage should be

taken of the same meeting for the settlement of the chuttoond question.

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 19th October, 1841. Col. Robinson was entreated by the chiefs to obtain the confirmation of the Kaulnamah proposed by Captain Cobbe, and which, though irregularly acted on, had remained in abeyance, since the time it had

Appendix F. been drawn up. In 1841 he reported that the signatures of the "chiefs" had been affixed to it two years ago (1839) : at the request of the chiefs, and for their satisfaction, he had added his own, as a "witness" merely, "but of course without any pledge, or guarantee on my part, to see its conditions fulfilled." He "was not then aware of any misunderstanding with regard to its provisions." "The chiefs wished him to witness the document, as a means to save themselves from the exaction of any new or unusual demand, which they dreaded from the parsimonious disposition of the Maha Rana." With regard to the increased payment demanded by the Rana, "he says," It "is asserted by the Chiefs, and not denied by the Maha Rana, that they have regularly made the same pecuniary payments to the Durbar, that they have been in the habit of making, for the last 17 years."

Secy. to Government to Col. Sutherland, 27th Dec. 1841.

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 4th Novr. 1843.

Government appear to have deprecated Col. Robinson's interference, as he alludes to orders in his letter on the subject, when a fresh proposal for his mediation was received from the Rana. He himself does not appear to have approved of the alteration, for in a letter to Major Thoresby he remarks, "I conceive that in consequence of the Kaulnamah being susceptible of a double interpretation, it may be justly viewed as a dead letter, and that as the chiefs continue to make

Col. Robinson to Major Thoresby, 15th January, 1846. the same payments to the Durbar, which they have been in the habit of making for the last 20 years, I am of opinion, that to disturb the existing arrangements, or to attempt to enforce the minister's interpretation of the Kaulnamah of 1824, would only serve to create discontent towards the Maha Rana's Government."

Despatch Court of Directors, 19th March, 1845, para. 24.

The Court of Directors concurred in this report, observing, "We think with Lieut.-Col. Robinson, that the most desirable course

would be to cancel the agreement and adjust the payments demandable from the chiefs in commutation for service, by a fair compromise.

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 15th February, 1845.

Early in 1845, Col. Robinson again reported his attempts to bring about a settlement. The Rana complained that the chiefs had been long permitted to indulge a factious opposition, little in accordance with the allegiance due from subjects; and to withhold payment of the customary nuzzerana, presented to all princes on their elevation to the throne. Those more particularly alluded to, were Ahseend, Deogurh, Amait, and Bheendur. "After considerable negotiation, both parties signified their willingness to conform to whatever arrangement might appear just and equitable; and, having in the course of the discussion observed a leaning on both sides to the course that obtained in Maha Rana Jowan Singh's time, that precedent was proposed by me for adoption, and I am happy to report, has received the formal assent of the Rana and his chiefs." The question of nuzzerana was settled, by the chiefs agreeing to pay three lakhs of rupees on this account.

Despatch Court of Directors, 2d January, 1846, Paras. 14 to 17.

The Court of Directors approved of these proceedings, but requested that the omission of the particulars of the settlement might be supplied. These additional articles are stated in the Appendix.

Appendix, G.

In 1847, the Rana again complained of his chiefs not furnishing the quotas of troops they had bound themselves to do two years previously, whilst he knew of no cause of offence he had given them. In his censure, he aimed more particularly at Dooley Singh of Ahseend, as the instigator and promoter of the disaffection. On the other hand, the friends of the chiefs alleged, that personal "attendance was exacted from them, beyond the periods stipulated in the Kaulnama, that their villages were often attached, and fines imposed upon them, on groundless and frivolous pretences, and that the internal arrangements of their puttahs was pried into and interfered with, in a manner never before practised by any of His Highness's predecessors." The Political Agent said, "It was not easy to determine, to which of these conflicting statements, most credit was due; but that, in some instances, it appeared to him, the Rana's acts had been harsh and inconsiderate ;

and that, though he had lost much of his popularity, he had some refractory vassals to deal with.

“ In the course of his conversation and remarks, the Maha Rana appeared to exhibit much shrewdness, his personal appearance is much in his favour, and the urbanity of his manner very engaging ; still it is said that under a prepossessing exterior, he conceals much cunning, is naturally of a suspicious temperament, and not easily reconciled to any one who has incurred his displeasure.”

Despatch Court of Directors, 21st February, 1849, Para. 30. The Court of Directors regretted that “ the agreement between the Maha Rana and chiefs

mediated by Lieut.-Col. Robinson, appears, contrary to our expectation, to contain no settlement of the differences which had arisen concerning the chuttoond or commutation for military service ; but merely stipulates for future regular payment. We perceive the Maha Rana still accuses the chiefs of not fulfilling their engagements, and we regret to find the misunderstanding seems to be in no degree diminished.”

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 20th May, 1848. Domestic differences also lent their aid to estrange the parties. The Maha Rana’s brother

Maharaj Sher Singh, deputed an agent in 1848 to Col. Sutherland, to represent the disputes between himself and His Highness. Col. Robinson ascribed the brother’s variance with the Rana, to the intrigues of Dooley Singh. A few months afterwards, the

Col. Robinson to Secy. to Government, 18th Sept. 1848. Rana forwarded a khureetah to the Governor-General, accusing his brother of doing every

thing in his power to provoke him and his people, and that Dooley Singh was collecting ammunition, and making

other hostile preparations, Col. Robinson in Low, 27th November, 1848. requesting instructions remarked, “ The charges

preferred by the Maha Rana appear to rest solely on his own representations, and, so far as I can learn, are scarcely credited beyond the castle walls.”

Shortly after this, the Maha Rana still further estranged his chiefs. The Rawut of Soolumbur died in the cold season of 1848-49 and one of the hereditary honors of the family required, that His Highness should pay a visit of condolence to the successor at his home at Soolumbur, and escort him to Oodeypoor, for the ceremony of investiture. This the Maha Rana neglected to do. About the same time, the

Sukhtawut chief of Lawah was accused of harboring a murderer, and the extreme measure adopted of besieging his fort, and confiscating his estates. A number of other oppressive acts, which increased the Rana's unpopularity, may also be referred to in this place. The villages of many not only of the higher, but of the poorer retainers, were confiscated, to add to the crown lands; wells and fields held rent-free were seized, on the plea of the sunnuds of their owners having been forged; the Mahomedans were stopped from calling to prayers; a state banking-house was set up which destroyed the trade of the merchants and caused the departure of the Ajmere firms, which had established branches at Oodeypoor; low people were taken into favor; false accusations trumped up as a cause for levying exorbitant fines; and a system of espionage established through every part of the country, so that no body considered himself safe. These tyrannical acts made His Highness's Government most unpopular, and caused just and wide-spread dissatisfaction, which confirmed the chiefs in their opposition.

The chiefs most obnoxious to the present Rana, says Col. Robinson "are those who were most in favor in Jowan Singh's time, viz. Ahseend, Deogurh and Soolumbur. Of these three chiefs, the two last named are represented as being entirely under the guidance of the first." It appears that every difference in the country was ascribed by His Highness for many years to Rawut Dooley Singh of Ahseend, and he was constantly threatened with expulsion and banishment by the Political Agent.

In the beginning of 1850, the Maha Rana, with the sanction of the Political Agent, confiscated a large portion of the estates of the Rawuts of Suloombur and Deogurh, ostensibly for the non-performance of service and for withholding chuttoond, though the former chief was not liable to the demand of chuttoond at all. In October 1851, the two chiefs expelled the Rana's troops from their estates, and took forcible possession of the villages which had been sequestered. The

Col. Lawrence to Major Malcolm, 13th November, 1852. Rana applied for assistance to the British Government, denying that he had introduced any new usages, or made any fresh and illegal exactions. He expressed himself prepared to submit to any enquiry that Government might be pleased to institute. He might, he affirmed, be able to drive the chiefs from their estates, but he would be unable afterwards to expel them the country. His fear was, that if he pushed

them to extremity, the whole of Meywar might be raised, anarchy ensue, and the British Government make him responsible.

Col. Low, the Governor-General's Agent, visited Oodeypoor in the commencement of 1852 ; and the Rawuts of Suloombur, and Deogurh were at the capital and all the other chiefs were present in Durbar, though it was known that most of them were disaffected to His Highness. They were hoping at the time for some concessions from the Rana, in return for their appearance at his Court. Col. Low, like Col. Lawrence, did not fail to deprecate most earnestly our interference in the affairs of the state, and to beseech His Highness to settle his own affairs. Soon after Col. Low's departure, however, all the chiefs, whom that officer had found present and had recommended His Highness to treat with consideration, with one or two exceptions, joined those in opposition. On hearing this, Col. Low wrote, " It is particu-

larly desirous that His Highness should be
Col. Low to Col. Lawrence, 21st June, 1852. made to understand, that he is not to look for assistance from the paramount state, in such petty matters of his interior administration." " You are to write to him, if you think it likely to be of any use, that I feel much disappointed, if not disgusted, that he should exhibit such a want of tact and want of knowledge of the art of good government, as to require aid from any one in managing the Thakoors so situated, as those who were lately attending his Durbar."

At the commencement of the following year, took place the enquiry into the causes of dispute between the Maha Rana and his chiefs. Much of the information contained in the report written at that time, has been embodied in the above history, but, in judging of these matters, the following remarks are still apposite to the position in which the contending parties are placed. " The interference exercised in

Meywar affairs was withdrawn in 1826 in as
Captain Brooke to Col. Lawrence 5th February, 1853. quiet a way as might be, but the Kaulnama

appearing in the eyes of all classes, under our guarantee, still remained as a charter of rights, to which both parties might refer. The subsequent Kaulnamas of 1841 and 1845, and the style of letters written by the late Col. Robinson to the chiefs, in which they were now and then threatened with confiscation of their estates, kept up the illusion that the British Government was acting the part of an unconditional supporter of the Sovereign. This illusion was only

dispelled towards the close of Col. Robinson's career, when the conduct of the Maha Rana was such, that the Soolumbur chief could not bear any longer the deprivation of the honors with which his family had been for generations treated; and when it was seen that the British Government neither concerned itself to protect the chiefs, nor to carry out the threats of its Agent. I am not speaking unadvisedly when I ascribe the forbearance of the chiefs for so long a period to the dread of the power of the British Government."

On this report, Government ordered the Political Agent to mediate between the parties. The Rana's Agents waited on Col. Lawrence

Col. Lawrence to Sir
H. Lawrence, 9th May,
1854.

at Neemuch on the 19th April, 1854, but there was considerable delay with the chiefs, who eventually came in person. An agreement to

abide by the decision of the Agent was sent for the signature of both parties, but the chiefs would not sign any paper, without the interpo-

Col. Lawrence to Sir
H. Lawrence, 24th June,
and 6th July, 1854.

lation of the words "wajibee dustoori kudeem ke mooafiq" (according to the proper ancient custom). The chiefs also declined giving in lists of the values of their puttass, in fact would not hear of any change being made in the amount of chuttoond, demandable from them.

Col. Lawrence to Sir
H. Lawrence, 24th June,
1854.

The Maha Rana was, at the same time, called upon for a statement of lands and villages, which had been confiscated since his accession to the throne. To this he demurred, on the plea that he had full power over his dependents. He was further told by Col. Lawrence,

Col. Lawrence to Sir
H. Lawrence, 15th July,
1854.

Col. Lawrence to Sir
H. Lawrence, 14th Sept.
1854.

"that all demands for bhom and customs should cease; all new kheras or hamlets established on lands forcibly and unjustly taken from your subjects, be restored, that the practice of falsely accusing men and women of criminal intercourse, merely with the view of extorting money, dispossessing them of their property and turning them out of the country, be put a stop to in future."

Col. Lawrence to Sir
H. Lawrence, 31st Octo-
ber, 1854.

Col. Lawrence forwarded his report to Government on the 31st October, 1854, with the draft of a new Kaulnama he proposed for the

acceptance of both parties. He observes, "My views differ materially from those of Captain Brooke; as he, though condemning Col. Tod's

support of the feudal system, himself supports it throughout, and argues upon our being pledged for its continuance. I consider it as in no way adapted to the present state of things, as entirely opposed to the welfare of the country, and that we are not bound by treaty to support it. It has had a long trial, and been found to fail; and now that by calling on us to interfere, the respective parties have given us a right to do so effectually, I am of opinion, that whether our arrangement prove acceptable or not to the contending parties, we ought to avail ourselves of this opportunity of providing for the future peace of the country." Col. Lawrence then states the difficulty experienced in obtaining from the chiefs the amount of the value of their puttās, to which they made a passive resistance in the same way as they had done to Col. Robinson. The *baugurrea* or hereditary councillorship is abolished by Col. Lawrence's *Kaulnama*, "as it had been disallowed by Col. Tod and had been in abeyance since our treaty with Meywar," and the amount of *chuttoond* was fixed at a medium rate between that demanded by the Rana and what had heretofore been paid by the chiefs.

With regard to the investiture, Col. Lawrence considered it would be "preferable to tell the Rana to proceed to Suloombur, rather than to insert it in the *Kaulnama*, which would involve a loss of dignity to His Highness. I have informed the Rana and the chiefs, that the former will be required to perform the usual ceremony, and failing to do so, the Suloombur Rawut will not be expected to attend at Oodeypoor, though he will have to furnish his quota of troops." Regarding the Maha Rana himself, Col. Lawrence says: "He has more ability than any of his three predecessors, and has done much to check the bribery and corruption of his agents, and to restrain the chiefs. He has paid off a large amount of the state debt,—to the British Government alone, five lakhs of arrears of tribute. He has likewise spent considerable sums in restoring the walls of his capital, fort, &c. He is, however, most suspicious and jealous of all around him, grasping, exacting, and arbitrary, and of late years has been guided and influenced by men of mean extraction, who have led him to commit many tyrannical acts. He pleads in excuse, that he has in this but followed the custom of his country, and often, with the concurrence of the Political Agent."

It is not necessary to enter into the merits of Colonel Lawrence's proposed *Kaulnama* which was drawn out with a view of giving the

poor as well as the rich some access to justice, but neither Rana nor chiefs were anxious that these should be considered. The Rana, it is true, signed the document, because he desired to cast the onus of refusal upon the chiefs. Both are equally opposed to its provisions, but the Rana perhaps more so than the chiefs ; as he considers that a door would be opened by it for his subjects to prefer their complaints against his arbitrary acts, which would materially diminish his power as an independent Sovereign, of which he is very jealous.

By dint of great exertions, in the cold season of 1855-56, four of the principal chiefs were persuaded to separate themselves from the opposition phalanx. But because British Officers were the instruments by which they were induced to make their submission to His Highness, and agree to the *Kaulnama*, instead of being received with cordiality, and their grievances redressed, no courtesy whatever was shewn to them. They are in disfavor at Court and are treated with greater contumely, than those in open opposition.

The review of all our negotiations between the Rana and his chiefs plainly shows, that the ruler has always been exceedingly jealous of our interference, and that he has only consented to use it, when he had some object to gain ; either an increase of crown lands, as in Captain Tod's time, or an increased payment of money, as in Captain Cobbe's. Documents have been drawn up, capable of a double interpretation, but in no case do we find an earnest desire to do justice. The internal disputes detailed in these pages still continue, and it seems almost hopeless to expect that they will be settled, till there is some great change among the principal actors in the scene.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF THE HILL TRACTS OF MEYWAR AND RECLAMATION OF THE BHEELS.

CAPTAIN TOD, with the view of increasing the resources of the state and encouraging trade, shortly after his arrival at Oodeypoor, endeavoured to resume all the taxes levied from time immemorial by the Bheels on their neighbours, and to which they considered themselves entitled by prescriptive right. These taxes were not strictly legal, and the state whenever strong enough, had abolished them, as it found opportunity to do so, but had never attempted stopping them openly, as determined on by Captain Tod. This order naturally excited opposition. The taxes were of two kinds: 1st, "bolai," levied on the passage of merchandize and travellers, for whose safe transit the Bheels became thereby responsible; and second, "ruckwallee" or black mail, paid by villagers to neighbouring Bheel communities, as a protection against plunder. In addition to this, the Rajpoot chiefs, who had received grants of Bheel villages, called "palls," were deprived of their "bishwah" or share of the "bolai" tax. They, with the Bheels, and hill chiefs generally, resisted the resumption of their rights, and in the event of non-payment of their demand, plundered the villages, whilst the few chiefs who submitted outwardly, declared

Sir C. Metcalfe to
Secy. to Government, 10th
May, 1827.

their inability to restrain their Bheels. The
Rajpoot Thakoors screened their subjects, and
consequently the lands of the Thakoors were
confiscated by the Rana.

Captain Waugh to Sir
D. Ochterlony, 22nd Oct.
1822.

Captain Tod, at his departure, recommended the employment of British Troops to enforce compliance with the Rana's demands.

Captain Tod to Lt.-Col. Ludlow, 16th May, 1821. In the neighbourhood of Neemuch, where the Thakoors harbored the plundering Bheels, robberies were of constant occurrence; not only in the cantonments, but in the villages in its vicinity. The Rawut of "Shahtolah" was

Captain Waugh to Sir D. Ochterlony, 16th June, 1822. reputed to be the leader of the gangs which committed these excesses, but several other

Thakoors, including the Grassea chief of Jowas, were also accused of harboring plunderers, and of being insubordinate, and neglectful of the Rana's commands.

It should be observed, that hardly any thing was known then of the relations subsisting between the Rajpoot Thakoors and their Bheel subjects, or of the position and rights of the Grassea chiefs. In the official correspondence of the period, the excesses of the different parties are much mixed up together, and the policy proposed to be pursued towards them not clearly defined. Some partial engagements

Captain Black to Captain Cobbe, 3rd January, 1827. had been entered into: amongst others, Captain Tod had agreed, on the part of the British Government, to pay the Bheel "Ganga," the head of the most troublesome pal in the Neemuch direction, 100 rupees a month for the good conduct of himself and followers. This arrangement was attended with no good result, and Captain Cobbe discontinued the allowance in A. D. 1824. It appears that a small detachment of troops under Captain Hepburn, 5th N. I. had been sent out in 1820; but for what purpose or with what result is nowhere stated. It is remarked, however, that the season was too far advanced to allow of its co-operation with another detachment from Edur under Major Bradford, which must have been a Bombay detachment employed against the Bheel communities of Jowas, 100 miles west of Neemuch.

The Chief of Jowas was a "Bhomia" chief, and did not hold his lands by sunnud, but by prescriptive right. He paid no attention to the injunctions of the Rana, regarding the "bolai" tax. According to Captain Waugh, his deepest crime was a state of turbulent and rebellious independence; but that officer seems to have been aware of the relation in which he stood to the Rana, for he says, "If ejected, he

Captain Waugh to Sir D. Ochterlony, 2nd October, 1822. will become a pest and annoyance to the peace of the whole tract, which already affords so many facilities to depredation and disorder.

The minister plainly states, that neither he nor

his ancestors hold their lands or Jowas under 'sunnud' or puttahs from the Rana."

To remedy the unsettled condition of the Bheel country, the Rana desired to confiscate the estates of the Rajpoot chiefs, and especially Jowas. The acting Political Agent advised the same measure, and the grant to the ejected chiefs of lands in other quarters. Captain Cobbe on receiving charge complains that "though information had

Captain Cobbe to Sir D. Ochterlony, 18th April, 1823.

been called for, none was forthcoming; nor did he possess any data to enable him to furnish it."

Secretary to Government, to Sir D. Ochterlony, 21st March, 1823.

By the orders of Government, a force was directed to move against "some of the great Western Thakoors, who live in open and habitual rebellion against the Rana's authority,—

with the view of inflicting a just punishment on those who by their conduct have placed themselves in the predicament of enemies and violators of the public peace. That punishment will vary, from personal restraint and the annexation to the Khalsa of a portion (larger or smaller) of the lands of the offender, to the simple imposition of an ordinary pecuniary mulct." The force which marched in conformity

Sir D. Ochterlony, to Brig. Lumley, 15th January, 1824.

with these orders, consisted of one troop of Horse Artillery, one squadron 7th Light Cavalry, one Regiment Irregular Cavalry, two

Regiments Native Infantry and a battering train. Sir C. Metcalfe says in reviewing the subject, "The records afford no trace of any further communication, either from Captain Cobbe to Sir D. Ochterlony, or from the latter to Government, respecting the operations of this Detachment under Col. Lumley, or the result of its employment."

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy. to Government, 10th May, 1827.

The Rajpoot chiefs and Bheels, Captain

Captain Black to Poll. Agent, 26th June, 1827.

Black states, tendered their submission, and entered into written engagements to deliver

up their arms, and to abstain from collecting "rukhwallee" and "bolai." Shortly afterwards, a portion of the Bheel pals were restored to the Rajpoot chiefs, on their paying a fine, and being personally answerable for the Bheels not collecting the obnoxious taxes. The chiefs of course took the villages, but were utterly unable, if not unwilling, to enforce the unpalatable conditions annexed to the grants. Their Bheel subjects resumed their arms, levied contributions on trade

and travellers, and plundered all villages that did not pay "rukhwallee."

The neighbourhood of Brigadier Lumley's force to Jowas enabled the Political Agent to comply with the Rana's desire of confiscating that territory, and expelling the Rao's uncle Dowlut Singh, who was the hereditary "baujgurrea" or family councillor. "It appears," says Sir C. Metcalfe, when the particulars of the transaction became known

to him, "the Grassea chief of Jowas came into your camp, and submitted himself unconditionally. Until that time, he had been under the guardianship of Dowlut Singh, and Gobinda. On the expulsion of Dowlut Singh and Gobinda, the country was not continued to the Rao, but taken possession of by you, on the part of the Rana of Oodeypoor."

The Honorable the Court of Directors made the following observation on the policy pursued, when they heard of the march of the force. "We take this opportunity of stating, as a general remark, that before our own troops are employed in reducing the refractory subjects of princes in alliance with us, the circumstances under which application is made for their interference should be clearly investigated."

The consequences foreseen by Captain Waugh, of interfering in the affairs of Jowas soon showed themselves in Dowlut Singh's self-expatriation. He entertained a considerable force of mercenaries, while the Bheels irritated by the orders regarding the "bolai" and "rukhwallee" taxes, and ever ready to take advantage of any excuse to plunder, immediately on the departure of General Lumley's force, rose in insurrection. On one and the same night in February 1826 they destroyed all the Rana's Thannas throughout the hills, killed 250 men, and surrounded the post at Kherwarah, then amounting to 1000 men. A relief of six companies of Native Infantry and one Ressalah of Cavalry was sent to it by Brigadier Lumley, and the Brigadier at Nusseerabad was applied to for two companies of the Rampoorah Local Battalion to garrison Kherwarah during the rains, and as a protection to the town of Oodeypoor.

The Political Agent ascribed the disturbances to the oppression of His Highness's Kamdars, and Sir C. Metcalfe, in ignorance of the provocation given to the outlawed Thakoor, which had not as yet been

Sir C. Metcalfe to Poll.
Agent, 11th April, 1826.

Sir C. Metcalfe to Poll.
Agent, 13th May, 1827.

Despatch Court of Directors,
10th Nov. 1824,
para. 40.

reported, considered that being secured by our protection from external aggression, we had a right to expect that the Rana be able to rule his subjects without our assistance. "If we are to rectify the mischiefs caused by oppression and violence, we must hold in our hands the effectual means of preventing their recurrence." But the Rana was very averse to surrender the disturbed districts to our management; or to advance funds for bringing into subjugation the tract in insurrection. The Resident insisted that "if he were

Sir C. Metcalfe to Poll.
Agent, 31st Dec. 1826.

unable to perform the duties of a Sovereign, we should have the right to demand the cession of the territory which he can neither govern or restrain. If we waive this right, and restore it to him, we confer on him a favor, which he is not entitled to require, but he must assent to such arrangements as we may deem necessary."

Sir C. Metcalfe was entirely opposed to the employment of British

Sir C. Metcalfe to Poll.
Agent, 27th January,
1827.

troops, and deemed it incumbent on us to ascertain that the rights of those whom we attempted to subdue, had not been violated or infringed. From these considerations he was disposed to think we ought to withdraw from all interference, leaving it to the Rana's Government to manage his hill districts in his own way. He said, "To engage in the suppression by force, of disturbances which have been

Sir C. Metcalfe to Poll.
Agent, 5th February,
1827.

excited by oppression or misrule, is a most unsatisfactory proceeding." "No confidence could be placed in any settlement, which being

Do. to Do., 10th February,
1827.

effected solely by the operation of the temporary presence of a formidable force, would cease to be binding on the withdrawal of that force."

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy.
to Government, 18th June,
1826.

In consequence of the insurrection in the hill tracts, it was proposed, in the course of the correspondence that took place, to station the whole of the Rampoor Battalion at the Deybur lake, about 65 miles from Neemuch and 45 from Kherwarah. The Resident considered that Neemuch would be a more suitable location, as the corps could then guard the cantonment, in case the Meywar force was required to

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy.
to Government, 6th Nov.
1826.

march on field service. It was of greater importance, that the force should be kept together, available for any purpose or for the

supply of any detachment, than that a new cantonment should be occupied. "So strikingly," Sir C. Metcalfe remarks, "does it appear to me that our troops in Rajpootanah should be concentrated, that I should consider the junction of the Meywar and Rajpootanah field forces as a preferable arrangement to that which exists." In again reverting to the subject, and reviewing the policy which should govern the disposition of our troops, Sir C. Metcalfe observed, "In the dispo-

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy. to Government, 20th April, 1827. sition of our military force, true policy recommends that our Army, on the efficiency of

which the security and dignity of our empire depends, should be cantoned in large divisions, available for service, either bodily in arduous contests, where our supremacy and power may be at stake, or in detachments for local purposes, when and where there may be occasion; and not frittered away in numerous small cantonments of single corps, stationed for duties more properly belonging to Police.

"In case of troops being required for a local object, these should be supplied by a temporary detachment, returning to their permanent cantonment on the completion of the duty on which they are engaged.

"Let the detachment be sent again and again, if necessary; but let them not be rendered inefficient, by being permanently stationed as 'Chokeydars' or Police Watchmen over the refractory mountaineers of Oodeypoor and Dungurpore, made unruly by misgovernment, and facilities of escape and security which nature has provided." In consonance with these opinions, so forcibly expressed, the cantonment at the Deybur lake which had been already authorized, was indefinitely postponed, and subsequently, the dissatisfaction with which the measure was regarded by the Oodeypore court, prevented it ever being carried out, though recommended subsequently by Col. Speirs.

In conformity with the requisition of Captain Sutherland, acting Political Agent, Captain Black his assistant, proceeded to Khairwarah in February 1827, with civil and military control over the hill tracts, and with directions to endeavour to restore order, by conciliation and justice; and by allowing and confirming the rights of all parties; coercion being only had recourse to, where conciliatory measures failed. The native force with Captain Black consisted of 152 horse and 1475 Infantry, but so badly organized that little dependence could be placed on its services, whilst a small portion only was really available, in consequence of the number of men required to protect the newly confiscat-

ed country of Jowas, where the Thannahs were constantly attacked by the outlawed Thakoor Dowlut Singh, aided by the Bheels in insurrection.

Captain Black could, with difficulty, maintain his position, and at last he was obliged to seek the assistance of a Captain Black to Poll. Agent, 14th April, 1827. Corps of Bombay Native Infantry, then in the neighbourhood of Edur, which he requested might be moved to the frontier. The guides, however, misled the Regiment (1st N. I. "Grenadiers") the Bheels attacked it, cut off all its baggage, supplies, and ammunition, and it arrived at Soame in a totally different direction from what Captain Black had desired, completely crippled by its disaster and in a most wretched plight.

Sir C. Metcalfe to Poll. Agent, 13th March, 1827. The Political Agent having now, three years after the occurrences, reported the circumstances which led to the outlawry of Dowlut Singh, and the confiscation of Jowas, the Resident remarked; that "he never contemplated Captain Black's duty would be to carry on a defensive and almost unavailing struggle against an enemy actually in the field, headed by the former rulers of the country, and cordially supported by the people. It is not so much a question as to how the Rana is to treat wild tribes, subject to his rule; but how he is to conquer a country, which seems devoted to its former local chiefs, heading an insurrection against the Rana's Government."

Notwithstanding the difficult situation in which Captain Black had been placed, that Officer by his untiring energy and great preserverance, overcame many of the obstacles which strewn his path. In a few months, he converted the native troops from a rabble without confidence in one another, to a disciplined body, who trusted him, carried out his orders, and at times displayed on detached duties, courage and bravery. By judiciously yielding the point of "bolai" to the Bheels, he gradually settled many down to their usual employments, whilst the more turbulent he attacked and brought to terms, so that when a force arrived to his assistance, all the country to the Eastward of Kherwara had been quieted.

Secy. to Government to Sir C. Metcalfe, 21st April, 1827. Orders, somewhat at variance with the opinions of Sir Charles Metcalfe, had been received from the Supreme Government, in regard to the measures to be adopted for the tranquillization of the hill

tract. A British force was to assist the Rana in bringing it to subjection, and it was proposed to raise a corps, under the command of Captain Black, for the local duties at Kherwara. The Governor-General considered the Rana justified in endeavouring to bring the Rao of Jowas to submission; and that the aid of our troops might be granted, on condition of the Rana agreeing to pay all the expenses, and leaving us unfettered in our measures; but he was to be at perfect liberty to decline the interference. The Governor-General regretted the adoption of any measures, calculated to destroy the Rana's independence, in the hill districts, though it was a satisfaction to know, they were not of our seeking.

The Rana, however, was not at first willing to furnish any funds, beyond the resources of the tract to be quelled, and from which he

Sir C. Metcalfe to Secy. expected, that the money borrowed by us for
to Government, 28th June, 1827. the prosecution of these measures was to be

paid. The Resident remarked, "that all the advantages of the scheme would thus be on his side; notwithstanding which, there is reason to believe that he and the whole of his Court, admit our interference with reluctance."

Sir J. Colebrooke to On a further reference, the Governor-
Poll. Agent, 14th September, 1827. General decided, that the settlement of the

disturbed tract was to be effected by local troops only, and, if possible, without bloodshed; and that money for the requisite expenditure beyond the resources of the tract itself, was to be borrowed on the Rana's account, under our guarantee.

The settlement of Chuppun (the country near the Deybur lake) East of Kherwara was to be first effected—that of Jowas or Kherwara to be postponed for further information; and the Grassea chiefs to the West not to be interfered with, till Jowas and Chuppun were settled. Pending the period when the local corps would be efficient, the Governor-General sanctioned the employment of regular troops for the attainment of the objects in view.

Sir J. Colebrooke to At the commencement of the cold season
Brigadier Lumley, 19th consequently, a force under Colonel Burgh,
October, 1827. consisting of 20 complete companies of native

Infantry, 200 Irregular Cavalry, and 100 Pioneers in 4 detachments, the whole under the command of Colonel Burgh, marched from Nee-much towards Kherwara. Captain Black was on the way to join the

force when he died, and Captain Speirs, Political Agent of Serohee was deputed by the Resident to carry out the measures ordered for the settlement of the hills; whilst Lieutenant (now Colonel) Colin Troap

Sir J. Colebrooke to Secy. to Government, 24th November, 1827. was appointed Adjutant of the new levies, which were to be raised at Kherwara, and to consist of 200 Horse and 600 Infantry.

As Chuppun (the district near the Deybur lake) had been already quieted by Captain Black, the force advanced towards Jowas near Kherwara. An unsuccessful attack was made by one of the detachments on the Bheel Pal of Kankun Sagwara, whence it had to retreat, after sustaining considerable loss. The good management of Captain

Do. to Do., 25th March, 1827. Heptinstall, however, subsequently secured the position. After considerable negotiation, Tha-

koor Dowlut Singh met Captain Speirs and tendered his submission, and the other petty chieftains also came in. Captain Speirs recom-

Captain Speirs to Sir J. Colebrooke, 25th April, 1828. mended the restoration of the territory of Jowas to the Rao, as the people in these petty states

were much attached to the families of their chiefs, who had held rule over them for ages. He suggested too, a liberal stipend to Dowlut Singh himself; and observed, that the Oodeypoor claims on Jowas might be adjusted and realized through the Agent, while the extension of British protection to the territory would maintain good order.

Having settled affairs in the Kherwara district, Captain Speirs proceeded to arrange the Grassea states of Oгна, Paurwah, and Joorah. Supremacy over these States had been claimed by the Ranah, though it could not be shown that they had ever paid tribute to Meywar, or performed any service that might be deemed one of

Sir C. Metcalfe to Pol. Agent, 9th December, 1826. vassalage. Sir C. Metcalfe had previously written in reply to this demand by the

Ranah,—“Those chiefs whom we found independent when our mediation was established in this part of India, are still in equity independent; and we ought not to lend our aid to reduce them to subjection.” All that we require from them is the security of our subjects and allies against the predatory irruptions of their people, and a safe passage through their territory for travellers and merchandize.

In consequence of this decision, Joorah and Punurrah for a time

retained their independance, whilst Ognah offered a voluntary fealty to Oodeypore. Every arrangement which seemed desirable for the future peace of the country having been made, Col. Burgh's force returned to Neemuch, leaving detachments at Kherwara and Pindwarra near Sirohee.

Sir J. Colebrooke to Adjutant General, 5th June, 1828. It was proposed shortly afterwards to withdraw these detachments, but the Resident objected, on the ground that the whole expense and trouble already incurred would be thrown away by so doing. They were consequently retained till the close of the year, when Government decided to limit the degree of interference to be exercised, and the expense to be incurred for the good of a foreign territory.

Secy. to Government to Sir J. Colebrooke, 25th April, 1828. The settlement of the hill districts by Captain Speirs met with the approval of Government, and he was directed to assume charge of the Meywar Bheel and Grassea tract, including Doongurpore. The Resident proposed that Chuppun and Jowas should be left under the charge of the Political Agent, Oodeypore; but the final orders of Government directed that the whole of the superintendence of the hill districts should rest with Captain Speirs.

In the same despatch it was stated, that the Governor-General did not desire that any portion of the Rana's territory should be retained under our management, if the Rana was willing to take charge of it himself. As the proposed transfer would of course include our relations with Jowas, the levy was to be withdrawn, and in case the expenses could not be defrayed from the tributes of the Grasseas; it was to be disbanded, as it was not to be supposed that we were to incur a continual expense for the government of territories not belonging to us. The Rana having expressed himself anxious to take charge of the territory lately in insurrection, the levy was at once removed to Pindwarra, and subsequently disbanded, in conformity with the orders of the Governor-General.

Several expeditions appear to have entered the Grassea states from the direction of Ahmedabad, but no records of these exist in the Rajpootanah or Necmuch Political offices. They were mostly undertaken for the apprehension of outlaws, the most notorious of whom were the Thakoors of Roopal and Moondeteo. None of them appear to have been attended with any success.

Before the departure of the detachment of Col. Burgh's force, which had been stationed at Pindwarra, for the express purpose of overawing the Grasseas, an affray had taken place between the latter

and some Cabul horse merchants, at the village of Keear in the Joorah territory, not more than 10 miles from Pindwarra, in which 21 of the merchants lost their lives, and the whole of their property was

plundered. A few years after this, a party of one Havildar, one Naick and fifteen privates of the 21st Bombay N. I. were attacked in the Girwur pass in Mount Aboo, and eight of their number killed and five wounded. The Rao of Sirohee sent in a list of 22 men as the murderers, most of whom were residents of Khera ka Serah in the Joorah country.

Notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Political Agent, no measures were taken by the Rao of Joorah, to seize the murderers. Instructions were accordingly issued by the Supreme

Government for taking possession of and sequestrating to the British Government, the territory of the Rao of Joorah. To aid in this purpose, a force under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Skardon, consisting of one Regiment Irregular Cavalry and two Regiments of N. I. marched from Neemuch, and was directed to co-operate with another force from Guzerat under Captain (now Lieut.-General) Sir James Outram, K. C. B. then Political

Agent, Myhic Kanta, for the purpose of restoring order to the frontier. The Rao of Joorah met the force on the borders of his territory ;

and no resistance was offered. The Bheel village of Seembeca, which had defied its Thakoor, was attacked by the troops under Captain

Outram's assistant, Captain Wallace, and the Rana's troops, supported by a detachment of N. I. attacked Khera ka Serah, in which the

murderers of the Bombay sepoy had been harbored.

Colonel Spiers reported to Government, that if annexed, the Joorah territory would require the services of a corps of N. I., whilst the revenue was so small, that it could never, under our management, pay its expenses. He therefore suggested, that it should be made over as a mark of especial favor to the Rana of Oodeypore, who would

thereby become answerable for its good government. The transfer

Secy. to Government to
Agent Governor-General,
26th March, 1838.

was accordingly approved by the Supreme Government. The other Grassea chiefs at the

same time, voluntarily desired to be placed under the same control, which was sanctioned by the Governor-General.

His Lordship, however, considered it essential, that the terms of tribute

Do. to Do. 14th June,
1838.

should be defined, and that the amount should not exceed the "dussoond" or tithe of the

revenue which had been adopted in the case of Joorah.

Ext. Desp. Ct. of Drs.
13th February, 1839, Pa-
ras. 14 and 15.

The Court of Directors remarked, "The continual failure of the Rawut of Joorah to

comply with the requisitions made to him for

five years, to apprehend the reputed murderers of the Bombay sepoy's,

although residing in his estate, has at length induced you to execute

the intention you had already notified to us of taking military posses-

sion of his small territory. He appears to be entirely unable to enforce

obedience from his weak subjects; and you determined, we think judi-

ciously, to replace him under the authority of the Rana of Oodcypoor,

on whom his estates were formerly considered to be dependent; and

having more power, may be subjected to a more efficient responsibility.

It was scarcely judicious, however, in Captain Speirs to state to the

Rana, that the sovereignty over Joorah was conferred upon him, as a

mark of special favor and friendship; since the habitual procrastination

in complying with your just requisitions, gives him the very reverse of

a claim to any special favor from your Government."

Col. Speirs to Agent
Governor-General, 7th
June, 1838.

After affairs had been settled in the Gras-
sea quarter, Col. Speirs and Captain Outram

met near Kherwarah, and decided the disputes

between the States of Meywar and the Myhie Kanta, when several

chiefs drank together the "kussoomba" (a decoction of opium in

water) in token of their having abandoned their former feuds.

It was, however, found, that without efficient military control,

and a steady and constant supervision by British Officers, no perma-

nent advantage would result from partial arrangements for the reform

of the hill tracts and that the best considered schemes were liable at

Col. Speirs to Agent
Governor-General, 10th
June, 1837.

any moment to be upset by the most trivial

causes. Col. Speirs therefore proposed raising

a Bheel corps under British Officers, and

subsequently extending the system to the neighbouring jungle states.

Do. Do. to Agent Governor-General, 30th June, 1838. He was very anxious that, if possible, direct British control should be introduced, as in

Mhairwarra, into the Bheel and Grassea tracts of Meywar; and that the system of employing Bheels should be extended to the wilds of Pertabgurh, Doongurpore, and Banswarah, by appropriating to that object, the Sebundy money of the first, and the tributes of the two latter principalities. He very properly did not look forward to any great financial benefit from the measure; since he said "it might be viewed as a pretty general result of experience, that territories so situated can and do but seldom contribute much to the general resources of an empire."

Col. Speirs to Agent Governor-General, 25th August, 1838. The Maha Rana gave his formal sanction to the project experimentally for a period of ten

years, together with the charge of the hill districts to the commanding officer of the corps. To increase the funds, Col. Speirs hoped that His Highness might be induced to set apart for the object, all his future receipts from Mhairwarra, but the Governor-General on receiving the report, was afraid, that the straitened finances of Oodeypoor might prove an obstacle to so extensive an outlay.

Secy. to Government to Agent Govr.-Genl., 10th Dec, 1838.

Col. Speirs to Agent Governor-General, 29th Dec. 1838.

The Oodeypoor durbar was urgent that the project should be carried out, as were all who had any connection with the country. The Rana, towards the end of the year, agreed to set apart the revenues of Meywar, Mhairwarra, estimated at 45,000 Oodeypoor Rs. (equal to Co.'s Rs. 35,000) per annum, for the payment of the corps, as well as the revenues of the Kherwarra districts including the tributes of the Grassea states, which might be taken at Oodeypoor Rs. 39,000 or Co.'s Rs. 30,000. The balance was to be paid by a firm at Oodeypoor; but, in case of any surplus, it was to be credited to the Rana, who agreed to give up for a period of ten years, the entire management of the hill districts, as in Mhairwarra, to the officer commanding the corps.

"I shall not intrude the subject," said Col. Speirs, "further on Government than to observe, that to establish our influence in so strong a country as the Grassea hills of Meywar, is worthy of some pecuniary sacrifice on the part of Government. It will be recollected, that it was in the fastnesses of these very hills, that the

former Ranas of Oodeypoor successfully resisted the power of the Mogul emperors."

Secy. to Government to Agent Governor-General, 21st January, 1839.

The Governor-General, in acknowledging the Rana's proposal, remarked, "that possibly a diminution of revenue amounting to Rs.

80,000 might, in the present embarrassed state of the Oodeypoor finances, interfere with the arrangement to pay off the load of debt, now pressing on that state. He looked, however, to compensation to the Rana of Oodeypoor, in the security which may, by means of the proposed corps, be maintained upon his frontier, and in his relief from the disorders and disturbances which have so long rendered hopeless every attempt to improve the Bheel districts of Meywar."

Col. Robinson to Agent Governor-General, 13th February, 1839.

Colonel Robinson, who had succeeded Col. Speirs, thought the measure might be deferred for the same reason as those urged by Govern-

ment, and that some less precarious and complicated mode of payment should be devised, than that offered by the Rana. In regard to the Pertabgurh Sebundee, it would, he said, be unjust to appropriate it to an object which would be of no benefit to that petty state.

The negotiations were in this state, when a fresh insurrection broke out in the Grassea tracts, and an attack was made on the Maha Rana's Thannahs posted in them, three of which, numbering about

150 men, were destroyed. Col. Robinson, in forwarding the Rana's request for assistance

with troops remarked, that he "never saw any good result from their employment. Experience has shown that this class of people are not to be coerced into a change of habits." Col. Sutherland observed that the Durbar had, "at a very unreasonable period, come forward to demand military aid from us, which, under almost any circumstances, they had no right to expect;" and

again referring to the causes of the outbreak said, "The outbreak of the Bheels, appearing to be solely attributable to injudicious taxation, Col. Robinson was perfectly right in

giving the Rana no hopes of aid from this Government, in suppressing the insurrection."

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 18th January, 1840.

The denial of assistance called forth a renewed proposition for a Bheel corps from the Oodeypoor minister, on much the same

terms as before ; but it was hoped that our Government would assist, by reducing the tribute from three lakhs Oodeypoorree Rupees to two

lakhs Company's Rupees. Government, though
 Secy. to Government to Col. Sutherland, 16th March, 1840. not satisfied with the security of the funds proposed to be set aside for the payment of the corps, sanctioned a commencement being made by the recruiting of four companies.

Col. Robinson to Col. Sutherland, 17th April, 1840. It was at first recommended that the Corps should be raised at Oodeypoor, whence it could be moved to Kherwarra, or wherever its permanent location might be determined ; and, if raised at Oodeypoor, it would be useful as a check upon the chiefs. The Governor-General's

Col. Sutherland to Col. Robinson, 20th April, 1840. Agent, however, was of opinion, that the corps should not be used for such a purpose. The correspondence having been submitted to Government, the Governor-General in Council desired, that a scheme for the corps might be submitted as early as possible, and at the same time notified the appointment of a Commandant and Adjutant, that there might be no further delay in carrying out the measures.

Cols. Sutherland and Robinson and Captain Lang to Secy. to Government, 25th March, 1841. In obedience to these instructions, a joint report was submitted to Government, by Colonels Sutherland and Robinson, and Captain Lang, Political Agent of the Myhie Kanta, who met at Oodeypoor in March 1841. To provide for the tranquillity of so extensive a tract of country, extending from Sirohee in the West, to Malwa in the East, the Commissioners reported three posts to be necessary, to ensure the enlistment of the Bheels and Grasseas from every portion of the country ; that each post should consist of five companies, of 100 men each, under an officer ; one in the Joorah country, one at Sagwarrah, in Doongerpore and the head quarters of the whole at Kherwarra, intermediate between the two ; where the Adjutant would generally command, to enable the commanding officer to move about and visit the different parts of the country. The expense of the corps on this footing was estimated at Co.'s Rs. 1,50,000 ; but if the Mehidpoore force was removed to Joorah, as proposed by the Resident in Malwa, the Sagwarrah post might be dispensed with, in case the cost was considered excessive. The modified strength, by this reduction was

ten companies, of one Subadar, one Jemadar, five Havildars, five Naicks and 100 Sepoys each (subsequently reduced to 90) at an expense of Co.'s Rupees, 1,20,000 per annum, of which Rs. 50,000 a year was to be paid by Meywar and the balance by the British Government. In addition to this, it was observed, we had 200 Infantry and 50 Horse, always at our command for service within the limits of the Pertabgurrh state or beyond it, when occasion required.

The enlistment of the corps commenced in January 1841, and before the end of the year, the Kherwarra, portion was in a fair state of discipline. The post for the Joorah country was raised in 1844, and fixed at Kotrah. As it was advisable to have a larger force at Kherwarra than at Kotra, the strength of the former was fixed at seven companies and the latter at three companies, and to ensure the good will of the Grassea chiefs, in our measures, some of whom might suffer by the loss of the share of the plunder they received from their subjects, three of them were entertained in the corps on Rs. 100 a month each. Since the raising of the corps, no sudden outbreak of the Bheels has occurred. In 1844, the corps was employed at Doongerpore in resisting an attempt by the late ex-Rawut to set up an usurper. The attempt was promptly suppressed, which, but for the proximity of the corps, would have gained head, and required the employment of a considerable force.

In 1848, it was found necessary to dislodge and expel sundry gangs of Meena outlaws of Sirohee and Marwar, who had found refuge in the inaccessible spurs of the Arabullee, whence they issued and forayed in the plains, carrying off numbers of prisoners whom they held to ransom. An expedition from the three states of Meywar, Marwar, and Sirohee, accompanied by a detachment of the Bheel corps, proceeded to dislodge them. This was effectually done; the gangs were broken up, and many prisoners were rescued, some of them young girls of respectable families.

The recklessness and cruelty, with which the Meena gangs conducted their expeditions, will best appear from a letter of the late Major Malcolm to Col. Low, under date 15th January, 1857: "I had

Major Malcolm, Pol. Agent, Marwar to General Low, Agent Governor-General, 16th January, 1851.

considered at first the losses sustained by Marwar and Sirohee, at the hands of the Nalur (Joorah) gangs, much exaggerated," says that Officer, "but the details, which have as yet

stood the test of enquiry much better than cases of this description generally do, will show you the extent to which the unfortunate inhabitants of the districts bordering the Nalur (Joorah) have suffered at the hands of these men, within the few last years, during which, on a rough calculation, no less than 178 men and women have been carried off, 107 men murdered and wounded, 1532 head of cattle harried, and property to the extent of 63,685 Rupees plundered or destroyed." Since the dispersion of the gangs, excepting a few Meenas, who remained in the Nalur, and who were either seized or driven out in 1852, no outlaws have again found shelter in those hills.

As sixteen years have now passed since the Meywar Bheel corps was raised, it may be expected that one, who has spent the best years of his life with the Regiment, should say something of the results of the policy then carried out. The object was by conciliation, and just treatment, to reclaim a savage race; and it was expected that the native states would move hand in hand with us, in so doing; but as the government of the Bheels was left with them, the chief means of conciliation and improvement were taken away from the British Officers sent to carry out the reforms. A constant struggle has been going on between the native authorities seeking to oppress the Bheels, and the British Superintendent to protect them. This may have prevented a few outbursts and insurrections, but the general condition of the mass of the population has not been ameliorated as much as was the expectation of Government, when it consented to the sacrifice of so large a sum for the maintenance of the Bheel corps. During sixteen long years of peace and generally favorable seasons, in a country possessing far greater capabilities than Mhairwarra, not a tank, or one might even say, not a well, has been constructed in the crown districts, nor has the energy of the Bheels been called out or directed to an extension of agriculture. In the Western Grassea state of Joorah, where the Durbar officers do not interfere so much, and the chief himself has no power over his subjects, who look up more to the European Officer stationed at Kotra, matters are a little better; cultivation has extended and, in some places, what was once an extensive jungle, is now covered with cultivation. New houses have sprung up in every direction, showing an increase of the population, and every one appears contented and happy.

One cannot help therefore regretting, that the proposition of the

Rana, offering the Civil control of the Kherwarra district to the British Government, had not been closed with. What a change might not have been made in the face of the country ! How contented and happy would have been the people who are attached to us ! What a stronghold we should have possessed in the affections of a race, so susceptible of kindness and good treatment, and how much the well-being of the crown lands would have reacted on the estates of the chiefs and Bhomeeas intermixed with them !

The good that has resulted is almost entirely confined to the possession of a disciplined corps, the absence of forays into Guzerat and the neighbouring states, the staunching of Bheel feuds, and the generally greater security of life and property in the Meywar hills. These may not be considered trivial benefits ; but they are small in comparison with what we might have conferred on a whole population.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEYWAR, AND GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON THE POLICY OF OUR CON- NECTION WITH THAT STATE.

IN the preceding chapters the particulars of the relations of the British Government with Meywar have been recorded, from the period of our first connection with that state, to the present time ; as well as an account given of the negotiations between the ruler and his chiefs, mediated by the several officers in charge of our political relations at the court. A few general remarks in conclusion are necessary, explanatory of the laws and customs of the country, as far as they bear upon the questions, either at present or likely to be hereafter in agitation between the two governments, or between Meywar and her immediate neighbours.

Nature of government
of Meywar.

2. The government of Meywar though monarchical, is not despotic. It is the same mixture of patriarchal and feudal, that it was in remote ages, and is very jealous of any change. It has been subjected to the rudest shocks, but it has sprung again and again into vitality. When suddenly assailed after long periods of repose, which in other states would have caused enervation in the ruling race, the same energy is found to be dormant, and to burst into action, as if warfare had been the intermediate occupation. The proud and lofty bearing of the princes of the house of Oodeypoor has much tended to maintain this spirit, for, with a diminished territory, they can yet look back with a just satisfaction upon the greatness of their ancestors. This feeling of pride of ancestry is participated by the poorest of their Rajpoot subjects, who cannot but feel, that whatever faults their institutions may possess, they were

sufficient for the preservation of the independence of their fathers, who handed them down to the present generation. They themselves look forward to transmitting them in their turn to their posterity, and it cannot therefore be regarded as wonderful, that they should be alarmed at the proposal of any change, or resist any innovation, as opening a door for reforms, the end of which they cannot see.

3. "It is a source of wonder," says Colonel Tod, "that with so many causes of dissolution, Meywar should have survived, and its institutions lived for so many centuries. Creeds have changed; races have been intermingled, and names have been effaced from the page of history; but in this corner of civilization, we have no such result, and the Rajpoot remains the same singular being, concentrated in his prejudices; political and moral, as in the days of Alexander; desiring no change himself, still less to cause any in others."

4. The sovereign is the centre of the
 Influence of sovereign in the state. Rajpoot feudal system. On his personal qualities depends the working of the machine of government, which is full of defects, in proportion as he inherits more or less of human frailty. Under a wise and just ruler, such a government may progress smoothly, but under an imbecile or a tyrant, one who encroaches on the rights of his people and is unscrupulous regarding the means he employs to compass his ends, it is always in danger of falling to pieces. Meywar has lately had a succession of such sovereigns, and we know how narrowly she escaped destruction, at the time the British Government stepped in, and restored Maha Rana Bheem Singh to his position and dignity. The quarrels which then shook the throne, had their origin in the unscrupulous attempt to place Madho Singh on the throne of Jeypoor; and the insult at that time offered to the nobles led to the introduction of the Mahrattas, and to the disorganization and ruin of the country, sowing the seeds of the contention which we find it so difficult now to control. The government of Meywar was reorganized by us, and in the absence of an external foe, she continues convulsed, as under like circumstances she ever was, with internal dissensions. It is true that in most of the other states of Rajpootana, similar internal dissensions prevail, and that the sovereigns and great chiefs are in a constant state of antagonism; but, in them, the conflicting parties are more equally balanced than in Meywar. Here, in consequence of the

extensive alienation of the crown lands to the Mahratta leaders, the landed possessions of the chiefs double those of the sovereign, whilst their privileges and immunities at this, the highest Hindoo court in India, place them on a much higher level than the nobles in the rest of Rajpootana, the sovereign families of which intermarry with them on terms of equality.

Power of great chiefs in the state. The nobles at their country residences, maintain exactly the same state and formalities as the sovereign at the capital. Their ranks are constantly replenished by the grant of lands, either to members of the royal family, or others; who, in a few years, are themselves bound by the same interests as the older nobles, and find that any order which affects one of the latter affects them also. Hence we see the nobles so constantly banded together, and making common cause against the government. To so great lengths had this proceeded before the date of the treaty with the British Government, that the prince was powerless, and Meywar was in imminent danger of being broken up into several petty independent chiefships, like Bundelcund. In consequence of this too, it is seldom in the power of the sovereign to dispossess the chiefs of their estates, whilst it acts as a check upon his making unjust demands upon them. Thus constant disputes are engendered, and there is never-failing strife between the parties.

Adoptions by great chiefs. Before proceeding further, it will be necessary briefly to refer to the more immediate causes of difference at present existing in Meywar. Sufficient has already been said elsewhere to elucidate the disputed points of the "chuttoond" tax and "service," but a few words are necessary regarding "adoptions," as they are a very fruitful source of dispute between the Rana and his nobles. The Hindoo shasters enjoin, that on the death of a prince without issue, or without having adopted a son during his lifetime, the widow, with the consent of the family, chiefs, and respectable servants of the state, should adopt the nearest of kin, or one of the nearest of kin; and, in the case of the nobles, should be added the proviso, with the consent of the sovereign. The point in dispute between the parties is,—whether on the sudden lapse of a principal chief, this consent is necessary before the adoption takes place, or whether the consent is understood, and to be afterwards passed as a mere matter of form.

Dispute regarding them. The origin of the law doubtless was to prevent an unworthy successor to an estate being chosen by intrigue amongst the members of the family, and this is the argument of the Rana's party. The nobles on the other hand aver, that there is much greater fear of bribery and intrigue at the court, in case the succession is left unadjusted, and that at Oodeypoor little regard would be had to

Tod, Vol. 1, Page 190. the fitness of the successor ; that the guddee of the greater chiefs cannot be left vacant for a day, any more than that of the sovereign, but must be filled up at once ; and that the choice must be made at the estate where the funeral obsequies are performed.

Course usually pursued. Much depends of course on the degree of favour in which the candidates are held at court, and the power of the sovereign to enforce his orders, as to whether the adoption of a more distant relation, to the prejudice of those nearer of kin, is allowed to hold good. Should it be disallowed in the case of a party in actual possession, there is danger of civil strife. The usual course therefore, whether the possession be rightly or wrongly obtained, appears to have been, to confirm the choice made by the family, if the party be in actual possession, on the condition of a heavier fine of relief than customary being paid into the royal exchequer. This was done in the case of the Deogurh chieftain, so fully related in Tod, Vol. I. page 191 and 192, where the vassals say, they gave a son to the deceased Rao, not a chief to Deogurh,—the latter gift resting with their sovereign. This, however, does not determine the question as a general law ; and, whenever there is a lapse of the kind, there is certain to be a dispute, in case there is no very near of kin, and the family has any objection to the nearest of kin. Should it be intended eventually to allow the adoption, opposition is made, if only for the purpose of enhancing the amount of the fine of relief, and conferring an obligation at the same time.

Course under imperial rule. When the late Maha Rana Sirdar Singh ascended the throne of Oodeypoor, the confirmation of the paramount power had not been obtained, but the adoption was not the less allowed. The same law which guides the succession to the throne, should guide also that of the chiefs to their estates. The confirmation of the adoption previous to succession should be required as a rule, and each deviation judged on its own peculiar merits. Under the imperial rule, in case of crowned heads even, a higher rate of nuzzer would have been the usual mode of

condoning the offence ; which course, though repugnant to our ideas, is agreeable to native custom. As to the necessity of adoption being

Adoptions during life- made before death, we should recollect, that time. there are many obstacles to either the sovereign or great nobles following this course. The very fact of not being on terms with those, whose consent is necessary to make the adoption valid, is of itself sufficient to prevent adoption, during life-time.

Elections and adoptions to thrones. It will not be out of place here, to say a few words regarding adoptions, and their bearing on succession to sovereign power ; especially as the minds of the Rajpoots have been lately much disturbed by recent annexations founded on the disallowance of adoptions. There is neither justice or equity in following English law when judging of questions of succession to property by Hindoos. The Hindoo law does not sanction, in failure of offspring, the confiscation of the real property and rights, which have been handed down from generation to generation, however much it may wink at a pecuniary penalty for their renewal, and we ought not to force the interpretation of the law, when it happens to fall in with our views. Adoption is the religious ceremonial, merely to suit the exigencies of a priest-ridden religion. It has been engrafted on to succession, as the Hindoo priesthood has engrafted some ceremonial on to every act of daily life. On the death of a sovereign, it is a successor who is chosen by the widow and chiefs ; one, who is likely to govern the state with justice ; who is noble in bearing, and graced with kingly qualities. When such is found, he is then adopted. The civil magistrate is elected to the throne, and after this, he is adopted. We have nothing to do with the adoption ; only with the succession.

Common but mistaken idea regarding adoptions. A common idea prevails among people unacquainted with the subject, that any one may be adopted ; whereas adoption can fall only on those collateral branches, who have had a common descent from the ancestor of the deceased person, who founded the estate ; or are, in common parlance, cousins of more or less removes on the father's side only. Generally speaking, it is the next heir who is adopted ; and, if he is not, he usually receives some increase to his estate, in consideration of the resignation of his claim. A choice is allowed, to prevent what is considered an unkingly person ascending the throne, and to prevent the ills which too strict an adherence to linal succession is apt to produce.

Succession of next
male heir the simple rule.

Succession is, with this exception, continued as in Europe. Taking our own Royal Family as an example of the argument, the succession would have proceeded as it has done, but our most gracious Queen herself would not, by Hindoo law, have ascended the throne till after an adoption had taken place, as she was not the daughter or sister of the sovereign immediately preceding. With regard to Meywar, the Maha Rana has no children, and his feud with his nobles prevents his adopting a successor. How unjust then would be a verdict, annexing his territories for want of his fulfilment of this ceremonial law, seeing that he has an elder brother with grandchildren alive; yet, on such slight grounds rests the theory, which has been brought forward, under no mean auspices, that adoption ought not to be allowed, or that it ought to be limited. In the Bombay Presidency, it is an invariable rule that in case of no adoption during life-time, the next of kin succeeds and is adopted. It is a misfortune that this same rule does not obtain throughout India. It would simplify the law, and make it more comprehensible and in keeping with our European ideas.

Impolicy of annexa-
tion of Rajpoot states.

The theory of annexation in the case of Rajpoot states has not met the concurrence of such men as Lord Metcalfe, Colonel Sutherland, General Low, and Sir Henry Lawrence, who judged of the matter by a clearer light. In their correspondence, one and all have frequently expressed their conviction, that they could perceive no force of circumstances that would ever justify the annexation to the British Government, of a single state in Rajpootana. This subject has been entered into at length, because not only does it bear on the quiet and good will towards our Government of all Rajpootana, but of Meywar especially, and of our Istimrar Thakoors of Ajmere, the preservation of whose estates and dignities, since we have held the Government of that district, has told most powerfully in our favor during the late disastrous times, in convincing the chiefs of Rajpootana that we are not covetous of their territories.

Causes of no adoption
in Meywar.

The Maha Rana of Oodeypoor being childless, it is necessary to state the causes which have hitherto prevented him from making an adoption. Ever since his accession to the throne, he has been at enmity with his elder brother. The latter (Maharaj Sher Singh) has several children; the

eldest of whom, Sadool Singh, was set up by the Chumpawutjee Ranee, the widow of the elder brother of Rana Jowan Singh, as a rival to His Highness's predecessor, Maha Rana Sirdar Singh, as well as to himself. The intrigue of the Chumpawutjee having been crushed by the Suloombur chief, and the late minister, Mehta Sher Singh, Maha Rana Sirdar Singh succeeded to the throne; and after him, the present Rana, Suroop Singh.

Intrigues in the case. A very strong party must, however, have existed in favor of Sadool Singh, for both Maha Ranas constantly complained of the intrigues of this party against them. Sadool Singh, the object of their jealousy, was a remarkably handsome man, of liberal disposition and noble bearing. Unfortunately, however, for him, the minister Sher Singh (having taken the side of the other party and dreading Sadool Singh's succeeding the present Maha Rana) took advantage of the fear with which he was regarded by his Highness to excite his suspicions against Sadool Singh, with a view of getting rid of both him and of his own rival in ministerial power, Mehta Ram Singh. Both Sadool Singh and Ram Singh were accused of attempting to take the Rana's life by magical arts, and of sticking pins into his effigy. The bait was taken, and while the minister sought protection in the Political Agent's Camp, and was finally heavily fined and expelled the country, Sadool Singh was seized, imprisoned in the palace, and about a fortnight afterwards was reported dead. A son has been left by Sadool Singh, who is now the hope of the opposition party, whilst His Highness is supposed to favour the pretensions of a son of Maharaj Dull Singh, who, in addition to his not having the same personal appearance or romantic antecedents as Sadool Singh, is several generations further removed. In the present state of parties at Oodeypoor, the death of His Highness, who is in infirm health, might lead to the evil of a disputed succession.

Abolition of Suttee. Oodeypoor is one of the few states in India, which has not consented to the abolition of suttee, on the death of Maha Rana Jowan Singh, when no less than eight females were burnt with the corpse, the Governor-General expressed his abhorrence in the following marked terms: "The British Government cannot regard with friendly feelings those by whom such cruel sacrifices are countenanced and encouraged." Notwithstanding this, and the abolition of the rite in other Rajpoot states, no effect has been made on the preju-

dices of the royal family of Oodeypoor. No doubt more than the usual difficulties have to be encountered, in persuading the Maha Rana to discontinue the custom. Were he to give his consent, the moral effect of the conquest in this, the first Hindoo state in India, would be so great, that we might expect the observance of the rite to cease throughout India.

Little chance of speedy
abolition in Meywar.

Unfortunately, the present Maha Rana is
not likely to be persuaded to so liberal a course.

He is too much under the influence of Brahmins, to allow us to hope for his sanctioning a change upheld by the bigotry of his spiritual advisers; while his capital is too far removed from the world, to be swayed by the feelings which guide those who mix in European society. The Rana's position with his chiefs may also be regarded as an obstacle to such a step on his part, as it would be doubtless taken advantage of by them to increase his unpopularity. It is better too, that such a step should be taken with the consent of the chiefs, and principal advisers of the crown, as, without such consent, the mere signature of the sovereign in Rajpoot communities, becomes little more than a dead letter. We should always recollect, that the feeling in favour of suttee is as strong as ever, even in those parts of Rajpootana in which the sovereigns have consented to its abolition, and that they have only yielded to the pressure put upon them by our officers, and with the view of conciliating the British Government. The consent may be regarded as forced, not real.

Female Infanticide.

We are not in possession of the statistics of the population of Meywar, to enable us to form a decided opinion regarding the prevalence of female infanticide among the Rajpoot population. It is certainly not encouraged by the sovereign or higher nobles, as both the great chiefs of Suloombur and Deogurh have grown-up unmarried female members of their families. Notwithstanding the numerous attempts made by the late Colonel Sutherland in Rajpootana, to check, on occasion of marriages, the influx of Charuns and Bhats from the neighbouring states, yet nothing has been accomplished for this desirable object; and the expenses of marriage are as great as ever. Till these are reduced, we may expect that female infanticide will continue.

Foreign relations of
Meywar.

The foreign relations of Meywar deserve
notice. These are conducted through the Po-

litical Agent at the court, and are generally speaking friendly. With Boondee alone is there any great degree of enmity. In consequence of Maha Rana Ursee of Meywar having been treacherously murdered whilst out hunting, by the prince of Boondee, an attack of a like nature had been made by a previous Maha Rana (Rutna) on a Rao of Boondee, but on that occasion both sovereigns had fallen, and the feud was regarded as quenched. The murder of Rana Ursee, however, was supposed to have been instigated by the Meywar nobles, and as blood has not yet flowed in return, the feud, notwithstanding the lapse of years, still exists, and is prosecuted on the part of Meywar, with a degree of rancour, which those ignorant of Rajpoot character would scarcely credit in a North American Indian. One or two officers have introduced the subject at the Oodeypoor Court, with the view of making terms between the parties, and the Jeypoor Maha Raja a few years ago exerted his good offices for the same purpose, but the subject is hateful to the ears of the Maha Ranas, and the Jeypoor Maha Raja was warned, unless he desired to be regarded as an enemy by His Highness, never to mention the subject again.

Settlement of boundary with Boondee. In consequence of this ill-feeling, constant affrays used to occur between the villages on the border of the two states, where the armies of either were accustomed to do battle for every petty piece of land. This state of affairs has ceased since the demarcation of the boundary in the cold season of 1853-54, and along which substantial landmarks have been sunk into the ground. The feuds have ceased; but yet nothing can conquer the aversion in which the name of Boondeo is held by the Ranas of Oodeypoor.

Boundary with Marwar. The boundary between Meywar and Marwar was ordered to be settled, after that between Meywar and Boondee had been accomplished; but great repugnance is evinced by the Rana to a settlement of this boundary, as, in his opinion, it would deprive him of all hopes of obtaining the rich province of Godwar, the frontier district of Marwar, and one of those belonging originally to Meywar, which by the seventh article of the treaty, we bound ourselves to restore to her on the first favourable opportunity.

Internal Boundaries. The other outer boundaries do not require notice, but the internal boundaries of villages and estates are in great confusion. They are everywhere contested, and cause endless strife

and collisions, in which several lives are yearly lost. In the Kaulnamas at various times made, the settlement of these internal boundaries is arranged for by the appointment of a punchayet. This, however, often makes matters worse, as the course to be pursued by the punchayet is not unfrequently laid down before the departure of the parties from Oodeypoor. Sometimes the disputed land is taken possession of by the crown. In either case, or however it happens, it is certain that the disputes are seldom or never adjusted, and are yearly increasing in number.

International offences. All classes of international offences between

the subjects of different states are now settled by the international courts of Vukeels. Formerly, such complaints were rarely adjusted, correspondence regarding them taking up the greater part of the time of political agents, without any decision being come to. Now they are heard and finally disposed of before the international courts. The decisions of these courts generally give satisfaction to the states concerned, and the extra power thrown into the hands of the Vukeels, by the possession of a seat in them, has been of advantage in making the representatives of the states favourable to their maintenance. After the court has given its decision, a general balance is struck, and each state settles with its own subjects.

Delay in payment of awards. There is sometimes, however, great delay in obtaining payment on account of awards in international cases from Meywar, as well as from the other Rajpoot states; for it would be unfair to tax Meywar alone, with what they are all generally guilty of. Such payments are still more difficult to obtain in those cases, in which a point of honor is considered to be involved. To quote an instance; the payment of the fine levied by order of Government on the chief of Beygoon, for an incursion into Holkar's districts, was obstinately resisted by the Maha Rana, and in defiance of the orders of Government was only recovered some eight years afterwards, by deducting the amount from the Meywar Mhairwarra collections. It cannot therefore be said to have been ever paid as a fine. It was proposed at one time to enforce payment by confiscating the lands of this chief, but Colonel Sutherland considered such a course would only lead to plunder. That officer, however, in his letter to the Secretary to Government, 4th June, 1840, was under the impression, that we should be obliged eventually to adopt some measures in all the Rajpoot

states, for obtaining payment of arrears by “ charging interest, or assuming for a period or in perpetuity, a portion of their territories calculated to answer our demands past and in prospect.” It might perhaps be advantageous, if, in such cases, and also where tribute to the British Government has fallen into arrears a certain rate of interest were demandable, and its payment insisted on.

Police of Meywar. The Police of Meywar is more inefficient, perhaps than that of any other Native state, and it is very difficult for suitors to obtain justice. Colonel Robinson, in his report (dated 31st January, 1850,) of states under the Meywar agency, described it thus : “ There are no regularly established courts of justice throughout the Meywar territories. In Meywar, as in most states of central India, the administration of justice is usually confided to the chief local authority of the Pergunnah or district under his management, whether on the part of Government or as renters ; but in the latter capacity, there is commonly an officer on the part of the Rajá, appointed to reside with each renter, to see that no injustice or oppression is exercised towards the people thus temporarily subject to his control. These local authorities are vested with cognizance and disposal of civil suits in general. They are likewise vested with the cognizance of all criminal cases, and for those of an inferior or minor character, may inflict fines or imprisonment to a limited extent ; but in no case are they allowed to mutilate or inflict capital punishment.”

Reflections on our policy with Meywar. Having glanced at the laws and customs of Meywar, as far as they bear upon her political position and foreign relations, a few words are necessary to show the policy which the British Government has enjoined on its officers, in compliance with the provisions of the treaty, and also what may be expected as the results of that policy, if carried out in its integrity.

Remarks by Colonel Tod on same subject. In introducing this subject, it will be best to quote from Colonel Tod, volume I. page 193, his reflections on this very point and though the extract may be long, it will be found so apposite, as to require but a few words, necessary to contrast the position of the country in his time with what it is at present. Colonel Tod says, “ Unless we abstain from all internal interference, we must destroy the links which connect the prince and his vassals ; and in lieu of a system decidedly imperfect, we should leave them none at all, or at least not a system of feuds, the only one they

can comprehend. Our friendship has rescued them from exterior foes, and time will restore the rest. The desire of every liberal mind, as well as the professed wish of the British Government, is, to aid in their renovation ; and this will be best effected by not meddling with what we imperfectly understand.

“ Such interference, when inconsistent with past usage and the genius of the people, will defeat the very best intentions. On the grounds of policy and justice, it is alike incumbent on the British Government to secure the maintenance of their present form of Government ; and not to repair, but to advise the repairs of the fabric, and to let their own artists alone be consulted. To employ ours would be like adding a Corinthian capital to a column of Ellora, or replacing the mutilated statue of Buldeo with a limb from the Hercules Farnese.

“ We have nothing to apprehend from the Rajpoot states, if raised to their ancient prosperity. The closest attention to their history proves beyond contradiction, that they were never capable of uniting even for their own preservation ; a breath, a scurrilous stanza of a bard, has severed their closest confederacies. No national head exists amongst them, as amongst the Mahrattas, and each chief being master of his own house and followers, they are individually too weak to cause us any alarm.

“ No feudal Government can be dangerous as a neighbour ; for defence it has in all countries been found defective ; and for aggression, totally inefficient. Let there exist between us the most perfect understanding, and identity of interests ; the foundation-step to which, is to lessen or remit the galling and to us contemptible tribute now exacted, enfranchise them from our espionage and agency, and either unlock them altogether from our dangerous embrace, or let the ties between us be such only as would ensure grand results : such as general commercial freedom and protection, with treaties of friendly alliance.

“ The Rajpoot, with all his turbulence, possesses in an eminent degree both loyalty and patriotism ; and though he occasionally exhibits his refractory spirit to his father and sovereign, we see of what he is capable, when his country is threatened with dismemberment, from the history of Meywar and the reign of Ajeet Singh of Marwar.

“ But Englishmen in the East, as elsewhere, undervalue every thing not national. They have been accustomed to conquest, not

reverses ; though it is only by studying the character of those around them that the latter can be avoided, and this superiority maintained. Superficial observers imagine, that from lengthened predatory spoliation, the energy of the Rajpoot has fled : an idea which is at once erroneous and dangerous. The vices now manifest from oppression will disappear with the cause, and with reviving prosperity, new feelings will be generated and each national tie and custom be strengthened. The Rajpoot would glory in putting on his saffron robes to fight for such a land, and for those who disinterestedly laboured to benefit it."

Inertness of Rajpoot Governments.

In the above extract non-interference in the internal affairs of the country is the policy insisted on ; and that, when the machine of Government is found faulty, we should not make changes in it ourselves, but advise changes to be made by those most concerned. Few will gainsay what has been above quoted, but all complain of the hopelessness of offering advice, which is certain not to be followed ; and many are disappointed with the stationary character of the Rajpoot. As long as there is no internal disturbance, the feudal fabric stands, and perhaps is even approved of. It is in moments of commotion, that the instability of the structure is perceived, at the very time that the workmen are sick and a remedy cannot be applied.

Feudal system of Government, the cause.

The unceasingly restless spirit of the Rajpoot urges him to seek excitement, whether in internal contention or external war. This disposition, little amenable to reason, pervades governments as well as individuals, and is produced by the feudal system, under which the Rajpoot lives. As long as the feudal system lasts, so long will the character of the Rajpoot remain the same, and will not change till the system of government changes. Allowing for differences in religious creeds, the same unruly revengeful dispositions have been born of the feudal system in both Europe and Asia, alternating chivalry with rapine, and heroism with turbulence.

Our own impatience in waiting for events.

To expect that maxims of morality, or precepts of forbearance inculcated by civilization, addressed now and then by a single individual to the head of a nation, will suddenly alter the tempers of a large population, formed by a system working through hundreds of years, is too Utopian to be admitted for a second, and yet little less is expected from political

officers. The fault is our own. Too hasty in our desires, we leave too little to time, and expect that the hopes of to-day will be fulfilled on the morrow. A few short years ago saw the first attempt to suppress suttee in our own provinces, and we are disappointed that complete success has not already crowned our efforts in the most distant corners of Hindoostan. We desire the people to be educated, and we are astonished that they do not appreciate our efforts on their behalf, and instantly rush to our schools. We have a right to indulge a reasonable expectation that both one and the other desire will be ultimately accomplished, but we are not willing to wait patiently for the issue. The great misfortune is that in dealing with the disposition of a half civilized race like the Rajpoots, we are too apt to apply the rules by which we would judge our own actions formed after a higher model, and not to make due allowances for the differences of religion and culture.

Necessity of non-interference in internal affairs.

Let us, however, consider the Rajpoot as we find him. His character is certainly susceptible of improvement, but that improvement must be a work of time, and must come from within. If we try to force improvement by interference in his government, which he is apt to resent highly, we cannot succeed without first demoralizing and degrading him. However small our interference may be, the implicit and blind obedience we insist on, has a tendency to destroy at once that independence which is the ancient inheritance and mainstay of Rajpoot existence ; and, with the loss of which independence, all that is good and worthy of preservation must perish.

Results of our rule on ancient aristocracy.

An argument has been used by some that the results of our rule have not yet developed themselves ; that though it has been the inevitable fate of the ancient aristocracy of the country, when connected with us, to be in a few short years, demoralized and sunk into debauchery and sloth, yet a new aristocracy was being formed to take their place, composed of men, who either had been educated in our schools, had practised in our courts, or who had amassed wealth by mercantile transactions under our fostering care of trade.

Delusive expectation of a new aristocracy.

The very exposition of such an argument admits the truth of the observation, that connection with us withers the old blood of the country and destroys the old families ; whilst it remains open to question whether the neophytes of

our schools, and the pleaders versed in the chicanery of our civil courts, will form a class deserving the name of aristocracy at all; and whether their immediate descendants do not at once sink to obscurity, and insignificance, and follow out the same train of debauchery and vice, which is extinguishing the old aristocracy. In urging the argument therefore, that we pull down with the view of rebuilding, it should not be forgotten how rapid is one process, how slow the other; and how careful we should be that any change we make be gradual. The effects of our rule constantly present the first class to our view, whilst one looks in vain for the latter. Abject servility and cunning we find in abundance, but not the straightforward bearing and candid speech of independence. In fact, so accustomed are we to the first, that when we find the latter, we are apt to ascribe it to any other cause than the real one.

Superiority of Rajpoot chiefs to fruits of our own institution.

The late Mr. Thomason considered that the states of Rajpootana, (Meywar especially)

had advanced so far in the principles of constitutional freedom, as to be almost fitted for limited monarchical government; the chiefs forming an intelligent middle class between the sovereign and the people. Without venturing into the examination of this subject; which would lead to a long digression, it may safely be admitted, that the chiefs of Rajpootana, as a class, are superior to the present fruits of our own institutions in India. They are more inclined to mix with Europeans and enjoy their society and sports, and are freer of prejudice than any other people in India; and it is therefore our duty to preserve them. We cannot do this, if we commence by diminishing them of their local influence and their self-respect, a result our interference would be certain to bring about.

to be adopted in

Very great care is requisite in steering a middle course. In Meywar, the cause of the

is the one which carries with it the popular sympathy. In supporting it too warmly, however, we are in danger of diminishing the power of the sovereign, with whom our communications are more directly carried on. If, on the other hand, we support the sovereign against his nobles, we oppose ourselves directly to the public opinion of the country, and thereby lessen our own influence. Whichever we do, we tend to destroy the independent action of the native government. We have always stood highest and commanded the greatest

respect, when we have kept ourselves aloof from the contentions of the two parties, the real merits of whose differences we cannot thoroughly comprehend ; and which fortunately in no way bear upon our own connection with their government or the general peace of the country.

Hopes for the future of the country. At times, we may be compelled to interfere against our will, but we should be very suspicious of our own opinion of the exigency, and having done what was required, we should give up the vessel to the guidance of her legitimate pilots. Every advance in a state is attended with more or less convulsion, and the little disputes between the Rana and his nobles may be regarded as bringing on the periodical crisis. They are safety-valves, and exercise the parties in the maintenance of that spirit of independence, which, if repressed, would cause their owners in a period of repose, to be steeped in vice and idleness or to find excitement in opposition and turbulence. Our policy is to allow the Rajpoot to work out his own regeneration, and to leave to time to bring to an end the present feuds ; trusting that the same efficient ally will, in due time, bring in its train, knowledge and civilization, to correct gradually what is amiss, and to raise Meywar to a position, which her ancient history and her constancy in difficulties lead us to hope she may at some time occupy.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Treaty between the Honorable the English East India Company and Maha Rana Bheem Singh, Rana of Oodeypoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honorable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, K. G. Governor-General, and by Thakoor Ajeet Singh on the part of the Maha Rana, in virtue of full powers conferred by the Maha Rana aforesaid.

1st Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the two states from generation to generation, and the friends and enemies of one shall be the friends and enemies of both.

2nd Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Oodeypoor.

3rd Article.—The Maha Rana of Oodeypoor will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connexion with other chiefs or states.

4th Article.—The Maha Rana of Oodeypoor will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

5th Article.—The Maha Rana of Oodeypoor will not commit aggressions upon any one; and if by accident a dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

6th Article.—One-fourth of the revenue of the actual territory of Oodeypoor shall be paid annually to the British Government as tribute for five years; and after that term three-eighths in perpetuity. The Maha Rana will not have connexion with any other power on account of tribute, and if any one advance claims of that nature, the British Government engages to reply to them.

7th Article.—Whereas the Maha Rana represents that portions of the dominions of Oodeypoor have fallen, by improper means, into the possession of others, and solicits the restitution of those places, the British Government, from a want of accurate information, is not able to enter into any positive

engagement on this subject ; but will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the state of Oodeypoor, and, after ascertaining the nature of each case, will use its best exertions for the accomplishment of the object, on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the state of Oodeypoor by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenues shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government.

8th Article.—The troops of the state of Oodeypoor shall be furnished according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government.

9th Article.—The Maha Rana of Oodeypoor shall always be absolute ruler of his own country, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

10th Article.—The present treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Delhie, and signed and sealed by Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Thakoor Ajeet Singh Bahadoor, the ratifications of the same, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maha Rana Bheem Singh, shall be mutually delivered within a month from this date.

Done at Delhie this thirteenth day of January, A. D. 1818.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE, (L. S.)

„ THAKOOR AJEET SINGH, (L. S.)

APPENDIX B.

Memorandum of Claims preferred by the Envoy of the Rana of Oodeypoor to the Resident at Delhi on 1st February, 1818, alluded to in the 7th Article of the Treaty.

1st.—The Purgunnah of Neemuch ceded to the Peishwa about fifty years ago when Madhojee Scindia invaded Oodeypoor; at present in Dowlut Rao Scindia's possession. The nature of this cession is not distinctly stated; whether as a perpetual alienation, or for a time in pledge for the payment of tribute.

2nd.—The Purgunnah of Jeerun ceded to Scindia at the same time, and in the same manner.

3rd.—The Purgunnah of Jawud, given two years after, to Scindia in pledge for tribute.

4th.—The Purgunnahs of Ruttunpoor and Antree given to Scindia in the same manner.

5th.—The fort of Koombulmeer with the Purgunnahs of Nullo and Selhra twelve or fourteen years ago. The Killadar of Koombulmeer having revolted, the Court of Oodeypoor solicited assistance from Scindia, who sent an army under Juswunt Rao Bhao, which was accompanied by Surdar Humeer Singh Chundawut on the part of Oodeypoor. When the Fort was taken, Scindia faithlessly kept possession for himself.

6th.—The Purgunnah of Rajungurh, forcibly seized, two or three years ago, by Bapoo Scindia and Juswunt Rao Bhao.

7th.—The Purgunnah of Raipoor, granted to Bapoo Scindia, six years ago, on terms of service which he did not fulfil.

8th.—Sungramgurh &c. villages seized by Bapoo Scindia within the last few years.

9th.—Kooakherra said to be in the possession of Lallajee Billal on the part of Scindia.

10th.—The Talooka of Gungapoor, in the possession of Scindia for twenty-eight years.

11th.—Sadree, Khord, Kunwara, &c. villages in the possession of civil officers of Scindia.

12th.—The Purgunnahs of Rancee, Khora, and Neembahera, given to Holkar in pledge for tribute, about fifty years ago. Neembahera subsequently restored by Juswunt Rao Holkar and again seized by his agents.

13th.—Villages in the possession of Holkar's officers, some with and some without the consent of the Rana.

14th.—The Purgunnah of Godwar, given to Joudhpoor about forty-six years ago in the following manner.

During a revolt of the dependent chiefs of the Oodeypoor state, the Raja of Joudpoor, Byjee Singh engaged either to quiet the revolt and bring back the disaffected chiefs to obedience, or to furnish five hundred horse in perpetuity for the service of the Rana. In exchange, he received the Purgunnah of Godwar. The Raja of Joudpoor did not perform any part of his engagements, but increased the disturbances of the Oodeypoor country.

15th.—Jeypoor, Sanganeer, &c. in the possession of Kota. Taken possession of fourteen or fifteen years ago by Raj Rana Zalim Singh of Oodeypoor. It is supposed that there will not be any objection to the restitution.

16th.—The village of Kotrie, taken possession of about ten years ago by the Raja Rana of Kotah, in consequence of disputes with the Deputy of the Raja of Shahpoora, who held the place in Jageer from the Rana of Oodeypoor.

17th.—Jullundhuree &c. villages taken by Raja Rana Zalim Singh in consequence of disputes with the Killadar of Mandulgurh.

Jullundhuree was made over by Raja Rana Zalim Singh to Nowab Umeer Khan.

18th.—The village of Deolee taken by the zemindar of Sawar.

19th.—Dakool &c. twelve villages taken by the chief of Banswara.

20th.—Doongurpoor, Banswara and Deola. It is stated these were formerly dependent on Oodeypoor but have thrown off their allegiance.

21st.—Rampoora formerly belonged to a dependent of Oodeypoor. In consequence of his revolt, an army was sent which expelled him and brought that district under the government of the Rana. It was assigned for his maintenance to Maha Raja Madho Singh, who was a sister's son of the Rana of Oodeypoor and residing at that time at Oodeypoor. On his becoming Raja of Jeypoor he made it over to Mulhar Rao Holkar in lieu of tribute. On account of relationship the place was never demanded from Madho Singh; and in consequence of the increasing power of Mulhar Rao, the place has never returned under the government of Oodeypoor, to which it belongs. The Rampoora is supposed to be the one South East of Oodeypoor belonging to Holkar.

Such is the scanty account of these claims given by the Oodeypoor agent. Much remains to be explained, respecting which the requisite information can be obtained by further enquiries at Oodeypoor, and by references to the other parties concerned, in the cases which may be deemed worthy of attention.

(Signed) C. METCALFE,

Resident.

APPENDIX C.

Kaulnama (Agreement) between Maha Rana Bheem Singh, and the Nobles and Chiefs of Meywar, concluded by Captain Tod, dated May, 1818.

1. All Khalsa villages seized by the chiefs in times of trouble and commotion shall be restored.

2. All new chowkeedaree bhoom and lagut shall be renounced.

3. Dan, Biswa, the right of the Government shall be renounced, the same to be levied by the Sree durbar.

4. No chiefs shall be permitted to harbor in his Putta, thieves, plunderers, thugs, mogheas, baorees and thorees. Those that are cultivators and peaceable subjects should be allowed to remain.

5. Home or foreign merchants, all kafilas, bunjaras, beoparees, who enter the country shall be protected. They shall in no way be injured or molested. Whoever offends against this, his estate shall be confiscated.

6. According to command at home or abroad, service shall be performed, the chiefs shall be formed in four divisions, each shall remain in attendance on the durbar for three months, and then be dismissed to their homes. Once a year a general assembly of the chiefs shall take place. It shall be on the festival of the duserrah, commencing ten days previous. On urgent occasions, or when their services are required, all shall obey the summons to the Presence.

7. All feudatories, (putaets) relations, and kindred holding by sunnud from the durbar, shall perform separate service. They shall not perform with or remain united in the larger puttass of others. Relations and inferior vassals of chiefs from whom they hold in fee, to them shall their services be rendered.

8. All chiefs shall meet with equal consideration from the Sree durbar, and their services shall be duly appreciated.

9. No chiefs shall oppress or commit violence on their ryuts, all new dund, burar or exactions shall cease.

10. What has been executed by Ajeet Singh at Delhie, sanctioned and approved by the durbar, all shall agree to.

APPENDIX D.

Kaulnama (Agreement) between the Maha Rana of Oodeypoor and his Chiefs, negotiated by Captain Cobbe, Political Agent, Meywar, and submitted for sanction in April, 1827.

The covenant between the Maha Rana Bheem Singh and the chiefs, jageerdars, &c. &c. of Meywar, which was contracted in 1818, and received the sanction of the British Government, having been found insufficient to regulate the relative rights and duties of the respective parties, His Highness and the chiefs unanimously agree to the following additional articles, and solicit for them the sanction of Government.

1. The chuttoond shall be levied at the rate of one-sixth of the actual produce, and shall be paid regularly in half yearly kists; beyond this contribution no claim or arbitrary fine shall be inflicted.

2. Every sirdar, accompanied by half the quota he is by sunnud bound to produce, shall do personal service in his turn for three months in each year; at the expiration of his tour, he will be permitted by His Highness to retire to his jageer.

3. Foreign beoparies, &c. &c. travelling through Meywar will give notice to and place themselves under the protection of the proprietor or local authorities of the village where they halt, who will be held responsible for their property, this will not extend to such persons as may encamp at a distance from the village, without giving notice.

4. The sirdars, &c. will take from their ryots half the produce, as is done in the Khalsa, if this be objected to, the ryots will pay one-third and berar as usual.

5. We will settle the accounts of our kamdars, putaets, &c. with justice.

6. No village shall be sequestrated without just cause.

7. If any chief shall offend, the punishment shall be proportioned to the crime.

8. All bloom granted prior to 1722 Sumbut shall be considered valid.

9. Dhose, rozeena, dustuk, &c. shall not be sent on any sirdar from the provincial kutcheries, but when requisite shall be issued by the minister.

10. Surna (or sanctuary) shall remain on the established footing, but shall not extend to murderers.

APPENDIX E.

Purport in English of a Rooqqu from Maha Rana Jowan Singh, dated Fagoon bud Chut Sumbut 1891 or February 1835.

To the nobles, chiefs, foudjars, kamdars, jageerdars, and putaets of Meywar be it known.

1. From henceforth, you are to pay the same chouth, and perform service as usual.

2. On the present occasion you have paid nuzzurana. Hereafter no unjust demands shall be made on you.

3. Should the boliras or people with whom you have pecuniary transactions be not fair in their dealings, and complaint be made on the subject, the matter will be enquired into and adjusted.

4. Should any complaints be preferred against you, the same shall be referred to your vakeel in attendance on the durbar; should he be unable to compromise the matter, the pradhan will communicate with you on the subject of such complaints.

5. When agents on the part of the chiefs attend on His Highness to make representations, they shall be received according to their respective ranks.

6. Should the Assamees of any of the villages belonging to the chiefs have pecuniary claims on those of the Khalsa, the same shall be duly enquired into and fairly adjusted.

7. Should there be any pecuniary claims of kamdars, mahajuns, &c. belonging to the Khalsa against subjects of the Chiefs, the latter shall see such claims settled.

8. Should any kamdars belonging to the chiefs or others charged with embezzlement seek shelter in the Khalsa, they shall be ordered to render their accounts and satisfy the demands of their masters.

9. In consideration of your having paid nuzzurana, and in accordance with your solicitation you are excused from the performance of twelve months duty this year. In case of any emergency, however, you must attend to perform service.

10. You are to retain possession of bloom lands which may have been bestowed previous to Sumbut 1822. Lands which you may have taken possession of subsequent to that period, must be restored.

11. Taxes on the marriage of mahajuns belonging to villages of the chiefs which may have been paid into the treasury of the durbar shall be refunded to the chiefs as a matter of favor.

12. Should any kamdars, chakurs and others belonging to the Khalsa take up their abode in the villages of the chiefs, the latter shall endeavour to persuade them to return.

13. Should any portion of the lands given in charity appertaining to the villages of the chiefs be resumed, in consequence of any offence committed on the part of Brahmans, the same shall revert to the chiefs and not be made Khalsa.

14. No villages or lands belonging to the chiefs shall be confiscated by the durbar without cause.

APPENDIX F.

Kaulnama or Agreement between the Maha Rana and his Chiefs, signed in presence of Major Robinson, Officiating Political Agent in Meywar, on the 1st February, 1840.

On Bysack bud 14th Sumbut, 1874, or May, 1818, a Kaulnama of ten articles was concluded through the mediation of Captain Tod, bearing the signature of the Maha Rana and his chiefs for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties.

As in several instances the chiefs have lost sight of the terms of that agreement, and their conduct has been at variance with it, the Maha Rana has agreed that a new Kaulnama should be drawn up with the advice and concurrence of Captain Cobbe, introducing therein the clauses of the original agreement with such additional articles as may be deemed beneficial both for His Highness and the chiefs. That on the Dusserah festival the whole of the chiefs shall assemble and the articles of the Kaulnamah be read and explained to every chief, and their signature affixed to the same, as also that of His Highness, that the Political Agent should also be requested by the Maha Rana and the chiefs to sign and witness, to ensure the due observance of the terms of the Kaulnama. This agreement was drawn up several years ago but was not signed either by the Maha Rana, the chiefs or the Political Agent. Now, at the request of the nobles and chiefs of Meywar, His Highness the Maha Rana Sirdar Singh approves and confirms the said Kaulnama without making any additions or alterations to it and the same has been formally executed in the presence of Major Robinson, Officiating Political Agent in Meywar on Mah bud 13th Sumbut, 1896 or 1st February, 1840, and has been duly signed by the Maha Rana and the nobles and chiefs of Meywar.

Additional articles for the benefit of both parties.

1. In the 9th article of the 1st Kaulnama, it is written that no chiefs shall oppress or commit violence on their ryots; that all new dund, burar exactions, levied in times of commotion shall cease. As they have not acted up to this engagement, and, through their oppression, many ryots have been

driven from Meywar, it is ordained that they shall in future desist from such proceedings, which will induce the ryots to resettle and tend to the increase of the revenue of their puttās and the prosperity of the country.

2. It is customary for every chief to remain with his quota of troops in attendance on the durbar for three months in the year. This shall continue in force, and no chief shall be detained at Oodeypoor beyond the stipulated period of service, as by their detention the chiefs are subjected to additional expense and trouble. It is optional with the durbar to excuse the attendance of any chief; however, in doing so, the durbar will not send for another in his room until the expiration of the period the chief thus excused from duty was to attend. The chiefs shall be bound to maintain the full number of followers, if they furnish a less number, they will subject themselves to the displeasure of His Highness.

3. The three-eighths from the revenue collections of the Khalsa lands are paid by the durbar to the British Government for the protection of Meywar from foreign enemies; not a fraction is taken from the jageerdars on this account. The payment of the tribute as here stated, is exclusively for the protection of the country against foreign invasion, as the troops of the chiefs are wholly inadequate for this purpose, the chiefs participating largely in the benefit thus secured. In former times, a chaut was paid to the dukhnees, who were a source of great annoyance to the country; this evil is removed. The troops furnished by the chiefs are only half the number they are bound to maintain, and are altogether unfit for duty; on which account, the durbar is obliged to issue rozeena and dustuk on the villages of the chiefs, which subject them to trouble and expense. As the durbar pays the tribute from the revenue of his Khalsa possessions to the British Government, it was but fair for the chiefs to have made a similar payment from the proceeds of their estates to the durbar; but knowing that they can ill afford such a demand in consequence of the heavy expenses they are subject to for the maintenance of their relations and dependents, His Highness has thought proper to discharge the tribute from the revenue collections of the crown lands, without making any demands on that account from the chiefs. His Highness has now resolved that the service of half the troops the chiefs are bound to furnish agreeably to the rekh or rent roll, be discontinued, and in commutation of the above half service, a money payment amounting to 2 annas $7\frac{1}{2}$ pie in the rupee be made, which is to be termed chuttoond; that from this fund a body of troops shall be raised for the service of the state. The chiefs are not to suppose that the amount to be paid by them is taken in lieu of tribute payable to Government, as no portion of it will be appropriated to any other purpose than the maintenance of a body of troops. The payment of the chuttoond will not bear hard upon the chiefs, considering the performance of twelve months' service with their full quota of

troops, which, no doubt, is more expensive and troublesome to them. On urgent occasions, if the durbar requires the attendance of the full number of troops, and detaches them on duty beyond the Meywar limits, a remission will be made in the amount of the chuttoond of the chief furnishing such troops.

4. His Highness the Maha Rana declares that he will not, without cause, confiscate the villages belonging to a chief and bestow the same on another.

5. As several chiefs wilfully withhold and delay the payment of the chuttoond, on which account the durbar is compelled to send dustuks of horse and foot on the estates of the chiefs, to enforce payment of the dues of the state, which subjects the chiefs to a loss of hundreds of Rupees, and is by no means profitable to the durbar, His Highness has resolved to invite agents on the part of the whole of the chiefs, and in conjunction with the minister, to make a settlement for five years for the payment of chuttoond by two instalments; by doing so, there will be no occasion to send razeena or dustuks. That if any of the chiefs fail to pay the chuttoond ten days after it has been due, they would render themselves liable to the confiscation of their lands and villages to the extent of the defalcation which shall not be restored to them.

Period of the payment of chuttoond 1st instalment on Mungsirsood Poonum, 2nd instalment Jeytsood Poonum.

Signatures affixed of

RAO BUKHUT SINGH *of Baidla.*

RAWUT PUDDUM SINGH *of Soloombur.*

RAWUT NAHUR SINGH *of Deogurh.*

RAWUT SALIM SINGH.

MUHARAJ HUMEER SINGH.

RAWUT UMUR SINGH.

RAWUT ESSREE SINGH.

RAWUT DOOLEH SINGH.

APPENDIX G.

Kaulnama between Maha Rana Suroop Singh of Oodeypoor and his Nobles and Chiefs, mediated by Lieutenant Colonel Robinson, dated Mah sood dooj Sumbut, 1901 or 8th February, 1845.

Formerly an agreement was entered into between Maha Rana Bheem Singh and the Meywar chiefs in Captain Tod's time, consisting of ten articles. Afterwards another Kaulnama of five articles was drawn up in Captain Cobbe's time, and lastly one was concluded between Maha Rana Sirdar Singh and the chiefs in the presence of Colonel Robinson and duly signed by both parties. As the chiefs have failed to act up according to the terms of the Kaulnama, the Maha Rana, in order to the due observance of the same in future, has in conjunction with the chiefs and His Highness's authorities, drawn up the following additional articles, and which have been mediated by Colonel Robinson and in his presence signed by both parties.

1. All the articles of the former agreement were to continue in force, every year ten days before the Dusserah festival a general assembly of the chiefs shall take place. After the inspection of their troops, the durbar will order such chief as he pleases for three months duty and distinctly name the chiefs and periods they are required to attend, and permit them to return to their homes. The troops of the chiefs to make no excuse in the performance of their duties. Should they fail to attend at the appointed time, or be found negligent or deficient in numbers, the chief, in whose service, they may be, shall be called upon to make a money-payment in lieu of troops to the Sree durbar.

2. The chiefs are to pay chuttoond at the rate of 2 annas $7\frac{1}{2}$ pie in the rupee in commutation of half the troops they are bound to furnish, regularly at the stipulated periods according to the terms of the 1st Kaulnama.

3. The chiefs are to use their best endeavours for the suppression of thefts and robberies in their respective puttals; they are not to harbour thieves, outlaws or dacoits, belonging to foreign jurisdictions, but to apprehend all such offenders who may attempt to enter their elaqus, and make them over together with such plundered property as may be found in their possession to the state, whose subjects they may be, agreeably to the course adopted with the concurrence of this durbar by the governments of Jypore and Jodhpore.

4. The durbar has agreed at the request of the chiefs that whenever any dispute may arise among them concerning boundary or other matters, a punchayut will assemble at the scene of dispute, consisting of four persons on the part of the chiefs and one to be nominated by the durbar. It will be their duty to enquire into, and settle the dispute with justice and equity, and their decision to be binding on both parties.

5. This agreement has been entered into with the free will and pleasure of both parties and to be mutually observed. All the chiefs shall continue to pay chuttoond and perform service with pleasure and satisfaction according to the Kaulnama and as in Maha Rana Juwan Singh's time, any instance of carelessness or departure from the terms of this agreement shall render the chiefs liable to the displeasure of the Sree durbar as set forth in the 1st Kaulnama.

Signatures affixed of

MEHTA SHERE SINGH, by order of the durbar.

RAWUT NAHUR SINGH.

RAWUT PIRTHEE SINGH.

MUHHARAJ HUMEER SINGH.

RAWUT DOOLEH SINGH.

